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Theme:

THE CHRISTIAN PARTICIPATION
IN NATION-BUILDING

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EACC ASSEMBLY FINDINGS

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EDITORIAL

The East Asia Christian Conference

At Kuala Lumpur the official representatives of the Churches of East Asia met in May 1959 and formally inaugurated the East Asia Christian Conference. This is a milestone both in the progress of the ecumenical movement and in the march of the Churches of East Asia to their true selfhood. But the significance of the EACC Assembly lay in the fact that it was very much concerned with the meaning of Christian ecumenism and the Church's selfhood, and their implication for the life and witness of the Churches in Asia today. Outside the gospel, ecumenism and selfhood conflict. But not so in the Church, where ecumenism means the realisation of the unity of the Church in its one mission to the world; and no Church however self-governing or self-supporting can be said to have its true self, except as it realises itself in relation to this mission. And as a Journal devoted to the Christian Study of Religion and Society we are very glad to note that the Assembly gave a good part of its time and energy to consider the Asian Churches' witness in the midst of the renascence of ancient religions and the struggle of peoples to build a new society on new foundations. We publish in this issue the Assembly Study Document on *The Witness of the Churches Amidst Social Change.*

Tools of Understanding

It is a truism now to speak of the Asian revolution. The Asian peoples are involved in it and Christians also. But how are we to understand the history of this revolution—the impact of the West, the revolt against it and the striving towards national development. It is not the intentions of the participants of the drama that we are here asking, but something much more fundamental. We seek to understand the meaning of Asian nationalism and social revolution, that is, their relation to the true nature and purpose of world history. This understanding alone can help us decide the kind of nation which we are to build and guide us as to our "true" responsibilities as citizens. This search for the meaning of life is basic to the renascence of religions and the rise and fall of secular ideologies in Asia today. Speaking of

Marxism, Jawaharlal Nehru says: "Marxism and its progeny attracted many of the intellectuals and there is no doubt that it gave a certain analysis of historical developments which *helped us to think and to understand.* But even that proved too narrow a creed and whatever its virtue as an economic approach, it failed to resolve our basic doubts." (*Speeches*, Vol. III, p. 414.) The appeal of secular ideologies or religions and disillusionment about them are related to their capacity or incapacity to provide men understanding and sense of direction in the world.

In this situation, has Christianity a contribution to make? What are its tools of understanding history, especially the history of modern Asia?

Christian Participation

Why are Christians concerned with the struggle of Asian peoples for new political, economic and social structures? The EACC Assembly says: "As Christians we are concerned with that struggle because it is, in several important respects, an expression of man's struggle to give meaning to his life. In Jesus Christ is revealed the true nature of God, His will and purpose for man and society. The whole of social and economic life is included in the cosmic purpose of God. In the realization of this eternal purpose we are fellow-labourers with Christ." It affirms that "the meaning of world history including that of modern Asian history is to be discovered" in the Kingship of Christ "which today is hidden and will be revealed at the end of time". And what is Christ doing in Asia today? "Christ is at work in the revolutions of contemporary Asia releasing new creative forces, judging idolatry and false gods, leading peoples to a decision for or against Him and gathering to Himself those who respond in faith to Him in order to send them back into the world to be witnesses to His Kingship." And it is for the Church of Christ to "endeavour to discern how Christ is at work". But "the Church must not only discern Christ in the changing life but be there in it, responding to Him and making His presence and lordship known. It is this that is the substance of the Church's witness amidst social change in Asia today. It is our common conviction that the Church should be full participant in the new life of Asia, if she is to be effective in witnessing to Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour". The Church's task is thus clearly set forth

—discern Christ at work in the life of the nation and respond to Him within that life. This task has hardly begun.

Why have we been slow to throw ourselves into the life of the State and society where the nation is building its new life? What the EACC has to say about the usual Christian attitudes to politics and industrialisation is of significance. "The major obstacle to Christian participation in political life is the failure to recognise the lay mission of the Church and the Church's direct involvement in the world for the sake of witness. The inheritance of a pietistic Christian tradition coupled with escapist tendencies already inherent in the Asian religious traditions have to be counteracted. This requires a renewal of the Christian understanding of the world." About the urge to industrialisation: "Many in the Church tend to dismiss this urge as materialistic. It is true that man does not live by bread alone. But it must be affirmed strongly by the Churches that economic welfare is a necessary means of the good life. It becomes materialistic when it is conceived as the end of life. Looked at in the right perspective, the search for material security and economic justice, which is a basic drive in Asia, may become a sign of the abundant life which Christ has promised. With wrong spiritual motivation it may also become a curse. The relation of economic development to human values and to the Christian meaning of life needs to be clarified in the present Asian situation. This is possible only through Christian participation in the processes and plans of economic development. Productivity and industrialization are certainly not means of spiritual salvation, nor are they a panacea for all the social ills of life. But they are gifts of God and the marks of God's providence to men in this generation. The Churches, too often indifferent to God's creative activity in this area of life, have given the initiative to the forces of materialism. The need of the impoverished masses of Asia reaches to heaven, crying for an emancipation revealed in the love of God through Christ."

Here is a call to full Christian participation in nation-building, not on the basis of expediency but on solid Christian grounds. Let us give heed to it in India.

INDIAN NATIONALISM: A CHRISTIAN INTERPRETATION*

By M. M. Thomas, *Trivandrum*

Introduction

With political independence India has entered a period of national development. She has given herself a democratic constitution and is building up new political structures of a Nation-State. She has set her face to increase agricultural productivity, industrialise the country and enhance the nation's standard of living through a planned process of economic development. She is also seeking to direct and control the changes in the structures and values of joint-family, caste, village and other traditional institutions of common life with a view to develop new patterns of community. All these changes in the political, economic and social realms do constitute a veritable revolution which asks for new religious and cultural foundations. So that, apart from the acute conflicts of ideologies all of which are answers to the fundamental questions regarding the destiny of man, traditional Hindu religion is also challenged to grapple with the surging life of new India. It may in one part become a militant ideology to resist these changes and in the other part renew itself to provide a new religious philosophy of social reorganisation.

Christians and Churches of India are as much involved in this revolution of national development as other Indians. How are they to relate themselves to it? This would be a most practical question to ask even from the point of view of their own narrow self-interest. But the Christian interest cannot be narrowly communal. The Church is concerned with the purpose of God for the world as revealed in Jesus Christ and to further it through its fellowship and its mission of evangelism and service. Therefore

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* This is a paper published as a basis for further discussion. The interpretation of nationalism offered here are tentative, and needs to be criticised both from theological and historical points of view. Mr. M. M. Thomas is Associate Director of the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, India.

the Christian approach to nationalism, democracy and socialism depends upon the answer to the question: What is God doing in and through the social revolution that is sweeping the country? What the Indian Church needs is a Christian understanding of Indian nationalism, which can help the Church discern the living presence of God-in-Christ active in the very centre of national life as Creator, Judge and Redeemer. Thus the Church may co-operate with Him in His mission for the nation.

Our Starting Point

Jesus Christ is Lord of the World, and His salvation is both social and cosmic. This is a basic affirmation which is the Church's starting point for a Christian interpretation of national development. For in national development we are dealing not only with men's souls but with men's relation to nature and things in science, agriculture and industry, not only with individuals in isolation, but in the network of relationships in political, economic and social institutions and the dynamics of history. To recover the relevance of the Christian message to national life, the Churches in India, as Churches elsewhere, have to fight a battle against an other-worldly, individualistic and "purely spiritual" understanding of Christ and His Gospel which is widely prevalent. Fortunately, in the modern period, the revival of Biblical theology, and the rediscovery of the idea and reality of the Church set in sacramental relation to the world of nature and society, as the essential instrument and foretaste of Christ's salvation, are helping the Churches to recapture the wholeness of the gospel message.

St. Paul writing to the Colossians speaks of Jesus Christ as revealing the origin, purpose and unity of "all things" in creation; and when they have been alienated from Him, God was pleased "through him to reconcile to himself all things". Thus he is "the first-born of all creation," "the beginning, the first-born from the dead" who as the Head, incorporates His Body the Church as an earnest of the redemption of all things. As Paul writes to the Ephesians, it is the purpose of God in the fullness of time "to unite all things in him (Christ), things in heaven and things on earth". He has towards this end "put all things under his feet and has made him the head over all things for the Church which is his body". Or again as Paul writes to the Romans, "the whole creation" groans to be "set free from its

bondage to decay" along with the Church "who have the first fruits of the spirit" and "groans inwardly" for the final redemption.

It is only in the light of an understanding of the whole world as under the hidden kingship of the risen Christ and moving towards the day of His open reign in His second coming, that it is possible to talk of discerning the presence and work of Christ in India's national development and social revolution, and of the Church's mission to respond to Him there in the service of the nation.

What is God Doing?

Our interpretation of nationalism depends in part at least on our understanding of the impact of the West on India. British rule and the evolution of national political institutions and ideas, the influence of Western economic thought and practice, the introduction of Western education and the emergence of a national intelligentsia drawing inspiration from English literature and committed to Western social ideas and to the development of science and technology, the spread of Western Christianity and its effects on indigenous religious life and thought—these are channels of the Western cultural impact. Historians and national leaders are clear that the Indian national movement even in its opposition to Western political authority drew a great deal of inspiration positively from Western politics, economics and culture. And today there is no doubt that much of our national ideals—democracy and socialism for instance—are our positive response to our Western heritage of the last hundred years; so that in national development we are only working out in the life of the nation the fruits of a continuing impact of the West.

If this is true, then evaluation of India's national development depends on our evaluation of the British period in India. What was God doing to India and in India through the Western impact? There have been two approaches.

(1) *Divine Providence.*—From Ram Mohan Roy down to Gopalakrishna Gokhale, the prophets and leaders of the early period of nationalism, that is, its liberal period, thought of British rule in India as under Divine Providence laying the foundation for political unity and freedom and social progress. In fact the

Prospectus of the Servants of India Society stated that "its members frankly accept the British connection as ordained in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence for India's good". The British rule was conceived as within the creative divine purpose for India. No doubt, such sentiments died out with the weakening of political liberalism of the British imperial rulers[1] and the emergence of the Tilakian period of militant nationalism. The people of India began to become conscious of the exploiting character of the Western power and the need of national power to dislodge it. Nationalism saw the source of national power and militancy in an uncritical revival of India's traditional culture and religion and a total rejection of Western culture. But later on with Gandhi and Nehru, a balance was struck and the consciousness grew that while Western dominance did lay a certain material and cultural framework for political and social progress, it actually checked its actual utilisation and prevented the growth of indigenous roots to strengthen it; and the task of national movement was that of building on the basis laid by the West in India, and breaking the chains of alien rule as well as of reactionary social traditions both of which acted as brake and bar to national progress. Thus the historical mission of Britain in India which the early liberal nationalists saw had to be saved by Indian nationalism from the British rulers themselves who were perverting it and would destroy it. To use Gokhale's language of Divine Providence we might therefore say that Indian nationalism under the providence of God has preserved for the Indian nation the foundation of progress laid by the Western power without letting it be destroyed by the inevitable corruptions of that power. Thus the history of British imperialism and Indian nationalism becomes a continuous action of God's creative providence for the Indian nation in which He uses British Imperialism first to judge and correct traditional Indian life and put India on the path of progress and in turn ordaining Indian nationalism to remove the tool of His judgment which has become perverse and to keep India on the progressive path.[2]

How far is such a concept of Divine Providence, in accordance with the Christian understanding of history.[3] Since God is Creator and Judge we cannot deny a providential ordering, judgment and reordering in history. But empirical history is usually too ambiguous and we are too alienated from God to

discover the pattern of divine government. And those who have done that and thought themselves to be bearers of a divine vocation have ended as self-righteous sources of disorder and ruthless tyranny. In fact, the doctrine of Creation and Call have been the greatest bulwark for the idea of Herrenvolk in Nazism and the idea of the ruling race elsewhere[4]; in fact even proletarian messianism of Communism has a similar, though atheistic, pattern of providence behind it. The rejection of Divine Providence is not however the answer; the solution lies in redefining the concept of Divine Providence in the light of the Redemption towards which all history moves. It means seeing providential ordering and reordering of power and structures of power in political history as different from and at the same time related to the divine work of redemption in Christ. St. Paul conceives of the State with its "sword" as ordained to be "servant of God" to punish evil and promote "your good". The justice it achieves, though something less than love which is the ultimate goal of human relations in Christ, nevertheless points towards it. In this sense Christ is Lord of the State also. Following this analogy closely, we may affirm the interpretation of the history of the last hundred years of India's history of the impact of the West and the emergence of the national movement as divine providence to set India on the path of progress; provided: First, that we do not idolise the national movement as a movement of divine redemption; under God it has a creative vocation in history, but it is under the judgment of sin and death even as other tools of divine providence.[5] Second, that we relate the national progress it is called to promote, positively to the ultimate good for man in Christ namely love. Order is no doubt a good to be promoted; but it is too negative if it does not go along with progress in freedom and the possibility of growth in social justice. In fact, what under God the Western impact and Indian nationalism have done for India is to disturb a static order and make dynamic progress possible. And India's national development is to be kept under judgment in the light of the vocation of promotion of ordered development in freedom and justice.

(2) *Preparation for the Gospel.*—Starting with the pioneer educationalists of India like Duff and Miller, the Christian Missions generally have considered the impact of the West in India as a preparation of India for the Christian Gospel.

Macaulay himself thought that with the introduction of Western education the hold of Hindu gods on the Indian people would disappear paving the way for their acceptance of the more enlightened religion of Christianity. Dr. Miller was of the view that the poetry, the philosophy and the history of a Christian land "would reflect the light of Christ" and that it would be "a certain not a valueless preparation" for the gospel in this country. K. M. Panikkar in his book *Asia and Western Dominance* makes mention of the hopes entertained by Christians regarding the possibility of the peoples of Asia joining the Christian Church as soon as they accepted the West's political and social ideals, and the fruits of Western science.

In the early days of the cultural renaissance in Bengal and other centres brought about by the impact of Western culture, there were several conversions to the Christian faith among the people of the cultured high castes. But on the whole, the hopes of India being led to the Christian religion on a large scale through the sowing of the seed of the gospel on a soil prepared by the impact of Western culture have been belied. No doubt, the message of human dignity and social equality has provided a good preparation for the outcaste people for their mass exodus to the Christian fold. Even this has ceased to be so after the Hindu society has begun to reorganise itself as a single people and fight inequalities in its social structure. In fact, the people of India have accepted a good measure of Christian morality, even excelling in practising it in some areas of life; they acknowledge the Christian social ethic as necessary for social renewal. But they have been incorporated into the Hindu religious traditions, so that the Hindu gods instead of weakening their hold on the Hindu people have strengthened it with Western cultural values and appear with a certain new militancy against the claims of Christ and the Christian faith. Of course, the West has introduced other new gods also into the country, materialism, rationalism and Marxism, which also compete in the field; but they combine with the old gods in their militant opposition to the Christian gospel.

Does it mean that the interpretation of Western impact on Indian culture as a *preparatio evangelica* is not true? Certainly the way in which it was defined may be wrong. Western concepts and values do not necessarily lead men to accept Jesus

Christ and His gospel. And scientific rationalism, materialism, communism and other aspects of the Western impact do have at their centre a conscious rejection of Jesus Christ so that they lead many Indians to become consciously anti-Christian. But there is one thing common to all Western values and ideologies. They do raise the right questions regarding the nature and destiny of man, world and history in answering which Jesus Christ cannot be ignored; they therefore sharpen the issue of life in Christian terms and make a choice for or against Jesus Christ inescapable. Man as free person, of society as community of justice and love, history as purposive movement towards a goal, world as real and meaningful—all these new concepts inevitably raise questions regarding the meaning of freedom and of the redemption from tragedy inherent in it. Thus through the impact of the West, Indian culture, society and politics begin to be involved for the first time in a radical way, in the quest of a Christ. Any faith in this situation has to proclaim a message of social and cosmic redemption with its own scandal of a unique messiah with an elect people. The "light of Christ" in Western cultural values ideals and religions (even when rejected) have sharpened life's issues for India so that the relevance and the urgency of the Christian message cannot be in doubt. And since the Indian national movement is a determined attempt of a people to respond to the "light of Christ," God continues His preparation of the soil of India more than ever before.

Since such a sharpening of issues makes anti-Christian forces more militant than ever before, can it be called God's preparation of the nation for the gospel. All God's preparation for the gospel has been of this kind, even including the preparation of Israel for the appearing of Christ in Jesus of Nazareth. They expected a Christ and when He came into His own His own received Him not. Christ was rejected and crucified by Israel. God gave the Law as a preparation for the gospel; it made clear men's alienation from God and his need of divine reconciliation. But when the reconciler came, the Law became the anti-Christ. Therefore it is Biblically legitimate for us to speak of the history of Western impact and Indian response to it in nationalism as God's preparation of India for the Gospel.

Summing up.—So then, what is God-in-Christ doing in India to day through the movements of national and social develop-

ment. *Firstly*, He is destroying the static vegetative pattern of traditional society and starting the nation in the direction of freedom and progress. It is God's good pleasure to bring to the people of India a greater measure of dignity, welfare and community, which within the framework of the perversity of sin and death are signs and pointers to the Kingdom of Jesus Christ and His love which is the ultimate will of God for mankind. *Secondly*, God is also judging the national movement. National development is not merely a creative force for national good. With growing freedom and creative efforts, the temptation of man individually and collectively to elevate his finite freedom into the infinite and to worship his own creations, and to convert moral ideas and social values into ideologies of self-aggrandisement is enhanced. And the emergence of forces capable of corrupting and destroying the forces of good and of turning them into means of evil and oppression of man are inevitable. The evil arises not entirely from evil intentions, but also from the self-righteousness of good intentions. So that God is active in the social revolution in the nation raising new tools to execute His judgment on man-made idols and false gods and to check evil and bring good out of it. *Thirdly*, through the issues they face in the responsibilities and tragedies of individual and social freedoms, God is leading the peoples of India to ask questions about the nature and destiny of man and the goal of world history at the deepest levels and to face the inevitability of choice between Christ and Antichrist. *Fourthly*, wherever men turn away from themselves and the religions of self-redemption to ask questions of a heavenly redeemer, He intensifies their quest and leads them on to the Cross of Christ and the pardon and power of His Resurrection and He accepts their response of faith however partial and perverted it may be. Through such He keeps the national movement constructive as "God's servant for your good".

Preparation and Renewal of His People

No interpretation of the work of Christ in modern India is complete however without pointing out His activity in relation to the Church, His people who openly acknowledge His Lordship over the nation and seek to obey the divine commission to witness to Christ to the nation. In the course of the last hundred and fifty years about which we have been speaking God has increased the Church in strength of numbers and of spirit. No

human agency has planned this; it is the work of God's Holy Spirit calling the Churches of the West to their missionary vocation. The modern missionary movement no doubt was part of the West and the Western cultural thrust into India[6]; and as such it was conscious of the creative mission of the West in this country to set it on the path of progress even as the liberal nationalists were. A. D. Lindsay has stated: "The missionary movement in India in the middle of the 19th century represented as far as the Indian educated classes were concerned, an intellectual, social and even political liberalism. This liberal outlook the missionaries shared with many outstanding Englishmen in the administration .....To them it was clear that the continued existence of the old conservatism, religious, social and intellectual, was a real menace to good government." Naturally the Christian missions identified Christ with the Western liberal culture; but not quite, because they were conscious of the godless materialism it produced and fought it. In fact, it was Duff's aim through his Christian College to wean away the students from the influences of atheistic rationalism which was then current in Calcutta's Hindu College. In 1857 traditional India rose in revolt against the Western cultural penetration of India and the social changes it was bringing about. After that, "consideration of security became the primary if not the determining concern" of British state policy and "the former political liberalism of the administration tended to disappear almost completely". The Christian missions also in general became increasingly conservative and could not appreciate the political discontentment of the educated; but they were critical of the indifference of the government to social reform and cultural change and continued their work in this field through their evangelistic, educational and welfare agencies.†

On the whole the Churches of India which the missions helped to build up also shared their political conservatism; but the impact of the national struggle for freedom developed a new sense of selfhood in the Churches of India and they began to see the Church as transcending Western culture and Western Christian denominations and began to think both of indigenisation and unity, that is, of the ideal of one Church rooted in the nation's life and witnessing to the universal gospel. Thus God spoke to

† The quotations in this paragraph are from the *Report on Christian Higher Education in India* by the Lindsay Commission.

the Churches through Indian nationalism about the uniqueness of the gospel and the oneness of the Body of Christ; and the new understanding has helped the Churches (without giving up their positive attitude to the Western heritage and partnership with Western Churches), on the one hand to relate themselves to the nation in its struggle for selfhood and on the other to work for the unity of the Churches in Southern and Northern India. The Christian Asram movement is an illustration of the first. The Church of South India inaugurated in 1947 and the scheme for unity in North India now coming to fruition are the results of the second. The ancient Syrian Church in Kerala was renewed to its missionary vocation through the open Bible and the impact of Western missions.

Some Churches in India participated in the national struggle for freedom more than others. For instance, the Churches of Kerala. Even so, the Christian participation in the national struggle was not adequate—in part no doubt due to the conservatism of Western missions but not entirely. When nationalism was militantly "Hindu" in character and was socially illiberal and reactionary, Christians could not participate in it. But later when the national movement became more cosmopolitan and socially reformist, the Christian community built up a more positive relation to the national movement especially in its constructive social work. Their stand voluntarily giving up their communal rights and their service during Hindu-Muslim tensions were generally appreciated. Indeed this led to the recognition by the Constituent Assembly of Independent India of religious propaganda as a fundamental civil right of every citizen thus opening the path of Christian participation in nation-building more wide. The growth in the idea and reality of the Secular State under Nehru has kept influences of Hindu communalism under check thus creating confidence in the Christians. The fight against Christian and Hindu communalism and for freedom of religious propagation was on the part of the Church a fight to be an open community with a gospel for the whole nation without accepting the position of a static minority in the nation. Its fight to be part of the World Church and to be in partnership with Churches outside was a fight for its ecumenical being. For the nation, a recognition of the Church and its legitimate rights to "be the Church" was and still is a battle for a constructive

nationalism and democratic polity over against an idolatrous nationalism insensitive to human rights and blind to the supra-national ends of man.

Thus God has given accession of strength to His people sojourning in India; He has through historical events judged them and renewed their understanding of the nature of the Gospel and the being of the Church; in so doing He is preparing a people who can discern, what is of God and what of man's rebellion in the movement of national reconstruction, and work with God in bringing social justice and world peace and preparing India for the gospel.

If the perspective on India's national development and the Christian mission in relation to it we have so far outlined is in any measure Christian, it means that the Church must relate itself more than ever before with the national stream of life and get involved in the nation's struggle to define new goals and to build new structures for the nation's political, economic and social life.

Notes

[1] Imperialism with a sense of mission is of two kinds. *Firstly*, the imperial idea which sees the imperial rule and its task of maintaining order and promoting civilisation among the lesser breeds in the world as permanent and never-ending. This is what is usually defined as the proper *Imperial Idea.* Naturally, nationalism, internationalism and the extension of democracy within as well as beyond the ruling race are all its enemies. *Secondly*, the idea which sees that the imperial rule will and should come to an end fulfilling its temporary mission of preparing the subject people for nationhood and democracy. This idea of imperialism is compatible with the rise of nationalism; in fact, nationalism is necessary for the fulfilment of the mission of imperial rule. For example, when introducing English education into India, Macaulay conceived of a time, of course only "in some future age," when Indians educated in European knowledge might "demand European institutions"; and he added that "it will be the proudest day in English history". The first idea of imperialism is a perversion of this, and national struggle was needed to save British Indian rule from it. *The Imperial Idea and Its Enemies:* A Study in British power by A. P. Thornton (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, p. 370) is well worth study in this light.

[2] This idea of the creative mission of British power in India finding its fruition through the revolt of Indian nationalism against British rule and the attainment of national freedom, has real similarities with the view Karl Marx himself expressed on the role of British rule in India. In his articles to the *New York Herald Tribune* in 1853 on the subject, he spoke of British power having "a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating—the annihilation of the old Asiatic society and the laying of the material foundations of Western society in Asia". But he added that "the Indians will not reap the fruits of the new elements of society scattered among them by the British bourgeois till in Great Britain itself the now ruling

classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat or till the Hindus themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether" (For fuller idea of Marx's view, see *India Today* by R. Palme Dutt. People's Publishing House, Bombay, 1947, pages 72–80.)

[3] In *Cæsar—the Beloved Enemy*, by M. A. C. Warren (London: S. C. M. Press, 1955) there is a chapter giving *Some Notes on a Theology of Imperialism.* It is an attempt to develop a Christian interpretation of British rule in the modern period in terms of Divine Providence. But the idea of Providence there set forth is defined almost exclusively in the light of the doctrine of Creation so that not only the theology of the essay but also its appraisal of political realities suffer from lopsidedness. The correspondence between the author of the book and the writer of this paper, relevant portion of which are given below, may be of interest in this connection.

Letter dated 9th February 1956 *from Rev. M.A.C. Warren*:

The book consists of three lectures which I gave at the Alexandria Seminary, Virginia, early last year. I would very particularly value your criticism. May I just explain a bit of the background.

For some years now, my reading, observation and experience have led me increasingly to the conviction that we Christians in our thinking, not least about the Christian Mission, tend to shy away from the problem of *power*. Because Power is often so ugly in its manifestations, we rather easily try to pretend that it plays no part in the Christian Mission. I am not sure but that a good many of our frustrations all over the world are due to our inability to be frank about this as well as clearheaded. We lack frankness in our acknowledgement of the sinfulness of the misuse of Power, and lack clearheadedness about its place in the economy of things.

The subject of course is a vast one and can be approached from a multitude of different angles. Somewhere within the whole subject there is surely a place for a fresh consideration of the relations of Church and State, not least as these impinge upon the Christian Mission in Asia and Africa as well as Europe and America. This, in turn, it seems to me, calls for some fresh attempt to understand the nature of Imperialism and of the Social Service State.....

Believe me I am perfectly aware of just how small a step I have taken by way of exploring the subject, but I believe that I must try and go further.

Reply dated 7th June 1956

The subject Theology of Imperialism interests me very much because I have been very much exercised in my theological thinking about the Christian significance of Nationalism which cannot be understood apart from Imperialism that gave rise to it. Culturally and politically Nationalism for instance in India is based on Imperialism not merely a revolt against it. It is the product of Imperialism—its law and order and the cultural penetration and missionary ferment which were allied with it. In India at any rate, the argument about the benefits of British rule is unnecessary—the leaders assume it. I said British rule and not British Imperialism. There is one difficulty at this point, namely in the use of the word Imperialism. The word may just mean what you say, *i.e.*, foreign rule; but in the actual evolution of its meaning in India, it has come to be associated almost exclusively with the perversions of foreign rule, what you call its demonic nature. Perhaps Imperialism can be used in both these senses. In such a situation I doubt whether the use of the word is wise. When a word is charged with emotion and arouses emotional reaction, it has become

a slogan and closes the mind making calm conversation impossible. Why don't we say foreign rule if that is what we mean. This is a minor point.

Perhaps my major criticism is also about the use of words. I am referring to your distinction between Theology and Demonology. Sin, demons, spiritual rebellion against God are thus left out of Theology. I personally think they are an integral part of theology. It seems to me that the essay on Imperialism equates Theology with the Acts of God as Creator (Creative Justice, etc.) as though Fall and Judgment and even Redemption do not come within its scope. This may be a misreading. But if it is true (at least that is the impression I got) then it is a very narrow definition of Theology, and it falsifies the approach entirely. What I am urging for is a total view of Imperialism in the light of divine creation, judgment and redemption. That alone can be called a theological interpretation of Imperialism. That is: What you have called Demonology of Imperialism is integral to its Theology and cannot be separated.

It seems to me that the result of this narrow definition of theology leads you to build your Theology of Imperialism, not from the redeeming (forgiving) act of God in Christ, but from a theologically questionable doctrine of Providence based almost entirely on the reading of history and the "works" of imperialism. This, I feel, has led you to emphasise the mission and vocation of Imperialism as the foundation for your Theology; so much so that I have the general feeling that you have not taken serious account of the demonic perversion that has occurred in Imperialism when the very sense of mission and vocation has been exaggerated. It is not the lack of a sense of mission and vocation but its elevation as the basis of a Messianism that has made Imperialism so demonic. Any theology of Imperialism should, to my way of thinking be an attempt not to justify Imperialism by its sense of vocation or mission, but to show how God in Christ has mercifully judged and redeemed Imperialism from the demons that afflict it.

Perhaps you would have by this time understood what I am driving at. I see the meaning of Nationalism as precisely related to this divine act of judgment and redemption of Imperialism. I don't say, Nationalism *is* the divine act of judgment and redemption. If I say it, I would make the same mistake of forgetting the demonic character of Nationalism. That is why, I said, *related to* that divine act. If I may be excused for a reading of history, it cannot be doubted that it has been through the Indian Nationalism that British Imperialism has justified itself in India—its values preserved for the nation and its evils checked during the days of Imperialism. My main criticism of the chapter on Imperialism then is that you have managed the most impossible (to my mind) task of writing a theology of Imperialism without bringing out the theology of Nationalism. And permit me to say, that it is a serious flaw.

To repeat: this mistake has resulted from your defining the word Theology as separate from Demonology. Theology proper should be the story of God's acts of overcoming the Demons.

It is quite impossible (to take another example) to have a proper theology of State without theologically justifying the Opposition to Government within the structure of the State. It is all right to justify the government and its functions; but it is also necessary for a total theology of State to justify the Opposition too, because it keeps the government in check and makes government function properly.

I feel sure that if we take the meaning of Nationalism in our thinking of the mission of Imperialism, we shall arrive at a more Christian Theology of Imperialism. And if we take the economy of Nationalism in the purpose of God, we shall have to qualify the Christian missionary policy in the countries where the Imperialist-Nationalist conflicts still exist. The Christian mission is to witness to the acts of God in Creation, Judgment and Redemption in that situation. The Christian missions cannot just be justifying Imperialism or enhancing the sense of vocation of Imperialism. They have to encourage healthy nationalist opposition to it also, for the sake of the mission of Imperialism itself.

I am all for recognition of the power-political aspects of Christian missions. It should not however be one-sided. It is the recognition of the creative and the destructive aspects of the Imperialist-Nationalist struggle that I am urging. And this recognition will help keep it on healthy lines. Eventually of course if the Imperialism is to fulfil its mission and vocation, Nationalism must win, conscious of its continuity with the values of Imperialism and with goodwill between the two nations. It is towards this that the Missions should help, say in Africa today.

Letter dated 25th June 1956 from Rev. M. A. C. Warren

You are absolutely right in insisting that the Theology of Imperialism *must* include its demonology. I was clear about this myself at the start. My failure to develop it as I ought to have done was due to two facts: (1) the actual length of time available for the lecture, (2) my awareness that an American audience begins by assuming that the "demonology" is the whole of the 'theology' of Imperialism.

I wanted to challenge this assumption. But you are so right in saying that my challenge was one-sided. You have made me see very clearly that in following up the subject I must now work on (*a*) the demonology of Imperialism and (*b*) the theology of nationalism, and then (*c*) to see how in a real measure nationalism 'redeems' imperialism in the sense of transforming it (not overlooking your point about the demonic in nationalism). I am ever so excited by this and grateful to you for being so faithful in writing at such length to me about it.

I am all the more disposed to accept the rigour of your judgment and to recognize its justice because in other contexts I have talked about the theological basis of nationalism though I have not worked it out yet. This your letter prompts me to attempt. I am also feeling my way towards the whole problem of 'Opposition to the State'. Recently I have been trying in both speech and writing to bring out the tremendous importance of the Opposition. The fundamental failure in our British attempt to spread Constitutional Government in territories that have been subject to the 'imperium' has been in our failure to take seriously the cardinal principle in our own political life, 'Her Majesty's Opposition'. Because we failed to provide for Opposition we created rebellion. Was this failure due to the entail of original sin working itself out in the field of Government?

There is this interesting fact, explain it how you will, that in the *theory* of British imperialism, unlike any other imperialism of which I know, there was always the assumption that it would make way for something else, that there was a *terminus ad quem*. I think this had something to do with our inherited

hatred of all arbitrary power which has been a consistent theme throughout English history. You cannot, I think, base your whole philosophy of living on a principle of liberty and, with an easy conscience, assume anything permanent about the exercise of arbitrary control over others.

It has been the uneasy conscience of the English over their imperialism which has in fact contributed to the end of that imperialism—an uneasy conscience which was supplemented by English education which consisted largely in introducing to other people a literature whose great classics have been glorifications of liberty!

There is nothing complacent in what I've written above, but only a sense of curiosity to see where this historical fact fits into the picture. Perhaps it has something to do with the *possible* development of Empire into Commonwealth, which I just touched upon in *Cæsar—the Beloved Enemy*. If there is anything in this then nationalism, while being a decisive factor in the 'redemption' of imperialism, is not the only factor in that redemption. Is that a fair conclusion?

I do not know whether I should have used the word 'redemption' to indicate the function of nationalism *vis a vis* the West in Asia's political history. It may be better to keep that word exclusively to define the work of Christ through the gospel. Regarding Dr. Warren's question in the final para of his letter, I would certainly affirm that nationalism is not the only force that has helped the transformation of Western power in Asia. Devotion to liberty in Britain itself, and more especially the forces of socialist democracy with its international outlook did play a significant part in that transformation.

Incidentally I give elsewhere in *Note* (6) a Chinese Christian review of Dr. Warren's book, dealing with the Theology of Imperialism. It has been taken from *Chinese Christian Papers* edited by David M. Paton. The theological assumptions and political implications of the review are well worth study. A word however about the theology behind it. In the light of the evils associated with Imperialism, the Chinese reviewer is right in criticising Dr. Warren's interpretation predominantly in terms of Creation. But it is doubtful whether the understanding of Western rule as "absolute selfishness" and "only" destructive in character does justice to the providence and sovereignty of God in history. The reviewer R. L. Hsu in rejecting the suggestion that God may use evil and overrule men's evil purposes and promote His purpose in and through them, seems almost to object to the idea of Divine Providence in any form. If during the period of Western dominance in Asia, God did not abdicate His sovereignty it is necessary to see how the Western power with all its evils is related to it. Mr. Hsu no doubt sees God at work in Asian nationalist wrath against foreign rule. But he has not stated clearly the theological implication behind his saying it. Does he think that Imperialism *versus* Nationalism is Devil *versus* God and that therefore the Church should get involved only in nationalism? Or does he feel that all politics is of the Devil and that God has nothing to do with it, and that for this reason, the Christian Church or Mission should not have any relation to politics at all? Both interpretations are possible from the review. I cannot accept either. No doubt the review points to the theological difficulties involved in the very use of the idea of Divine Providence for interpreting political history.

[4] "We may take two illustrations from the Protestant world, devastating in their effects on the Asiatic nations and coloured races. There are many Dutch

Christians in South Africa who find in the doctrines of calling and creation a justification for their policy of racial segregation; and Christian political parties in Holland take their stand on the doctrine of calling in defending the continuance of imperialism in Indonesia. Perhaps it is not too wild a generalisation to say that the missionary movement itself has sometimes sought to derive its vocation from a rational survey of the history of its so-called civilising mission, so that in some measure, the criticism of the rational historian of Christian Missions as an 'appendage of imperialism' is justified.

"The Church needs to recapture its true doctrine of creation, of man as man, deriving it from the redeeming Word of God and the community of His Grace." (*The Situation in Asia* by M. M. T. in *The Church and Disorder of Society*. The Amsterdam Assembly Series. Harper & Brothers, Publishers, New York, p. 75.)

[5] In the paper on *Christian Theism* included in *Chinese Christian Papers* collected and circulated by David M. Paton, Bishop K. H. Ting, of the Nanking Theological Seminary, makes clear the distinction I have in mind here between instruments of Divine Providence in history and the one instrument of Divine Redemption, namely Jesus Christ. Speaking about the relation between Environment and Sin, he states that there are crucial choices to be made between reactionary and progressive social systems; nevertheless Social Progress is not to be confused with Salvation. To quote: "we should welcome a social system that shows itself able to raise the level of moral life. But the change of social system can only limit the power of sin, it cannot solve the problem of sin. Sin can only be healed by forgiveness, salvation and grace. It is not a matter of social progress. The two matters should not be confused."

[6] The Chinese Christian estimate of Western Christian Missions is of interest here. The following is a review of *Cæsar—the Beloved Enemy* by M. A. C. Warren (S. C. M. Press, London, 1955) by Mr. R. L. Hsu: We have already referred to the implications of the review for the doctrine of Divine Providence in *Note*, (3) The main burden of the review is its evaluation of the connection between Missions and Imperialism. Mr. Hsu's review appeared in the *Nanking Theological Review* in February 1957 under the title *The Futility of Sanctifying Imperialism*. It was translated in the Seminary: It is quoted in full here:

> Christians in New China have come into contact with many new realities. Through our new experiences we have come to realize that some of the assumptions which we have uncritically taken over from the Western world are quite inadequate. On many important issues we need to think independently and reach our own conclusions.
>
> That imperialism has made use of missions in carrying out its aggressive designs in China is a conclusion which we have reached after the collation of very exhaustive and well-grounded evidences. Before the Christians and the peoples of the whole world we dare, with certitude, to accuse imperialism of the criminal acts in this respect, to present the case for the necessity to the well-being of the Church to free herself from imperialist ties and to tell of the progress of Christian work in our new freedom.
>
> To witness to the gospel of Christ is the holy and glorious mission of the Church and of all believers. For the sake of truly fulfilling that mission, we cannot permit imperialism to utilize us to serve purposes that have nothing to do with the gospel, once we have seen the scandalous connection between imperialism and missions.

In spite of our exposure of the facts of imperialism's exploitation of the missionary organizations to serve its purpose of aggression and expansion in China and elsewhere, the Western missionary organizations have consistently ignored the all-important issue which has been raised. They simply continue in pouring out slanderous propaganda against New China and abuse of Chinese Christians. Their tone is always one of unreserved self-righteousness and the liberty they take in "interpreting" the situation in our country and our Church is nothing short of complete moral irresponsibility and intellectual deceit. Are the Western missionary leaders actually so naive as not to know anything about imperialism's utilization of the missionary movement? Indeed, if they believe that imperialism has had nothing to do with missions, nothing needs to prevent them from saying so. But, on the other hand, if the relation between imperialism and missions has been a real one, as we have pointed out, then, the only right thing for them to do is, of course, courageously to acknowledge the facts and resolutely to dissociate missions from imperialism so as to insure the purity of their missionary work. As matters stand now, they are acting as if the issue were non-existent. How can this solve any problem?

But there is an exception. In 1955, Dr. M. A. C. Warren, General Secretary of Church Missionary Society in London, delivered the Reinecker Lectures at Virginia Theological Seminary in U.S.A. on the subject *Cæsar—the Beloved Enemy*. The manuscript has now been published. This seems to be the only attempt in Western missionary circles to take a stand on the question of imperialism and missions.

The insight and the boldness on the part of the author deserves our commendation. More than other missionary thinkers, Dr. Warren realizes that the most acute and devastating criticism the modern missionary movement faces today is that it has not steered its ways clear of imperialist designs in the world. He realizes also that, if mission bodies fail to give some sort of an answer to this criticism, their future prospects are dark indeed. With this insight the author is impelled to make a bold, direct confrontation with the issue.

The author is frank enough to acknowledge that imperialism and missions have been closely associated with one another. He says, "Christianity in Asia and Africa is associated with the past political, economic and cultural 'aggression' of the West" (p. 12). Unalarmed by but confirming the strong evidence upon which Christians in China have accused imperialism of making a partner in its invasion and domination of China, the author says, "The student of missionary history in Africa is well aware that the evidence for an identification of imperialism with the spread of Christianity is even more readily available for Africa than it is for China" (p. 13).

On the basis of this admission one would expect our author to be strongly opposed to imperialism and in favour of efforts to dissociate the Church from imperialist aims. This, however, is not so. The author tells us, "You cannot just dismiss imperialism as something minted in hell" (p. 28). "It is illegitimate to treat 'imperialism' as an abstraction to be labelled 'infamous'" (p. 24). "It may well be that the attack on imperialism has been largely misconceived" (p. 36).

How, then, does our author proceed to do away with the misconceptions and rehabilitate the fame of imperialism? He does so by trying to sanctify

imperialism, by calling it "beloved". Through some semantic exercises, we are to let the word "imperialism" carry entirely new emotional and cognitive contents.

The author makes his position quite clear: "It is imperative.....that those concerned with Christian mission in the world should have a theology of imperialism" (p. 13). We are to see that "imperialism has a place in the purpose and providence of God" (p. 18). And the subject of his first lecture in the series is frankly "Some Notes for a Theology of Imperialism"!

Imperialism Exalted

The author disagrees with us peoples at the receiving end of the curse of imperialism who call it from the depth of our heart an "organized vice" (p. 20). He thinks that, far from being an organized vice, "Imperialism can be a vehicle of great good to a subject people" (p. 36) and has "functions necessary to the diffusion of the good life" (p. 21). Under imperialism, "love, power and justice have been seen to take shape redeeming some tragic situation" (p. 31). He goes so far as to say, "At least, up to today, no other method has been devised for so successfully keeping the peace and making progress possible" (p. 28). And, "its real mischief has lain in its effect upon the wielders of the imperium and not upon the subject peoples" (p. 36). One cannot but wonder what strange meanings are here given to such words as peace, progress, love, justice and the good life. Can any situation be more tragic than life under imperialism itself? Have we not heard enough of the doctrine of the White Man's Burden?

In regard to colonial peoples' struggle for independence, the author chooses to express his views by quoting from a friend of his: "National independence is not an absolute good: the object, the goal, so to say, of society is to secure the happiness of the greatest possible number, and when, left to itself, a nation cannot obtain this object, when it does not contain within itself the principles of future progress, it is better for it that it should be guided by the example and even the authority of a conquering people who are more civilized" (p. 36).

Our author does make a reference to a "demonology of imperialism" to suggest that imperialism is not entirely angelic. But, alas, his partiality is overwhelmingly for its theology! We are indeed told not to feel too perturbed by the evils of imperialism because, after all, imperialism is but "an activity of fallen humanity and must be ambiguous in its character, like man himself"! (p. 41).

After these and other daring utterances, the countenance of imperialism looks thoroughly beautified. Even if it still shows some defects, it is just "like man himself" who should not dare to expect anything better after all. Thus, our author has no more hesitation to speak of imperialism as something quite honorable. He proceeds to sing praises before his American audience of the American "Vocational Consciousness," the American "feeling of special vocation" and the "American Dream" (pp. 29, 30). Quoting Paul Tillich, our author tells us that this American vocation was at first for America alone and that "Now it is meant explicitly for one-half of the world and implicitly for the whole world" (p. 30).

The odour over the word "imperialism" having been masterly dispelled and the cosmic significance of the Trans-Atlantic Cæsar established, our author, on behalf of the faltering British Empire and understandably with mixed

feelings, extends a welcome to its beloved enemy: "It is already justified to speak of half-conscious American imperialism." (P. 31.)

What Has Imperialism Done ?

Now, what has imperialism done? It is the subject peoples themselves, and those recently emancipated, who, more than all others, have the right to answer the question.

We know that the peoples of colonial lands live miserably. Their livelihood is one below human subsistence. Imperialism treats colonies as suppliers of raw materials, markets for its own products and sources of cheap labour. In lands Britain has controlled for hundreds of years, illiteracy, unemployment, diseases, beggars, prostitutes, homeless wanderers are a common sight. The mortality rate of the people is frightfully high. The wealth of India and Africa has gone to make the pearls of the British crown. Eight shillings out of every English pound are made of the blood and sweat of the Indian people. In Old China our situation was not different from that of India under British rule. It is indeed heartless to say that "Imperialism can be a vehicle of great good to a subject people" and that "its real mischief has lain in its effect upon the wielders of the imperium and not upon the subject peoples."

Imperialism means absolute selfishness, war, reaction, hypocrisy, tragedy. It diffuses no good life; it only destroys good life. It starts wars and suppresses all progressive forces. If it is "a method for successfully keeping the peace and making progress possible," it is only the peace between the tyrant and the down-trodden and the progress of bondage. An imperialist regime can never give people liberty; it deprives them of more and more liberty until they ultimately become slaves who have even lost the hope of liberation. If they do not awake and liberate themselves, the imperialist parasites will bite deeper and deeper. Surely, they will not leave us alone on their own accord.

It cannot but be a very devious and unrewarding piece of labour to make a case for the "benefits" of imperialism to the subject peoples. It is simply contradictory to the peoples' own experiences. John Henry Newman, in the nineteenth century, said thus of the empires of his days: "Earthly Kingdoms are founded, not in justice, but in injustice. They are created by the sword, by robbery, cruelty, perjury, craft and fraud. What monarchy is there but began in invasion and usurpation? What dominion of the few but is selfish and unscrupulous? Where is military strength without the passion for war? Where is trade without the love of filthy lucre, which is the passion for war? Where is trade without the love of filthy lucre, which is the root of all evil?" These are truly words which have come from the conscience of the Church and give a fair evaluation of the origin and building up of the British Empire.

Can Imperialism Help Evangelism ?

According to the author, it is not imperialism which has made use of missions but rather God who has made use of imperialism!

What we have come to know is diametrically opposed to this assertion. Our view is that imperialism is such a denial of the love and justice of God that it is a blasphemy to speak of its service to God. The simple fact is that imperialism, being so unscrupulous in its designs for colonial conquest, has put missions at its own service.

We do not deny that many good Christians in Western countries, out of their love for God and for the Church, have supported the work of missionary societies with their prayers and financial help. We do not deny that many missionaries sincerely meant to dedicate themselves to the work of the gospel for the glory of God alone. And we do not deny that not a few of them did very good work. But can we say on the basis of all this that the missionary movement in modern history has been just as simple as that? The modern missionary movement has been carried on in a period when the colonialists have been doing all they can to conquer, acquire, enlarge and consolidate their colonies abroad. The simple, personal "good intentions" and "good deeds" of individual Christians cannot alter the basic historical fact that, taking the period as a whole, colonialism and imperialism has had no qualm in absorbing even the service of missions, with or without the latter's connivance, for the realization of its dreams of aggression. If the commercial, political and military authorities of the colonial empires had refrained from supporting the missionary cause, could missionary organizations have existed on their present large scale? Of course not. Then, why have they supported the cause? For the sake of the gospel? Hardly. They have supported it for the sake of wealth, of expansion, of aggression.

In "The Encyclopedia of Missions" edited by the Revs. H. O. Dwight, H. A. Tupper and E. M. Bliss, under the heading "Commerce and Missions", we read: "The entire cost of the mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Hawaii up to 1869 was $1,220,000. But none can deny that this money used in civilizing the islands and opening them to intercourse with the world was well spent on seeing that, in 1901, the imports of the Hawaiin islands from the United States alone were valued at $12,780,000. Similar results of missions may be seen throughout Micronesia and Polynesia, for room has been made for commerce by taming and elevating the people through the gospel."

An American diplomat, Hon. Chester Holcombe, gave the following reason for supporting foreign missions: ".... an overwhelming array of facts and figures could be set forth to prove the inestimable, though unrecognized, value of the missionary as an agent for the development of American commerce in every part of the globe. The manufacturing and commercial interests in the United States could well afford to bear the entire cost of all American missionary effort in China for the sake of the large increase in trade which results from such effort."

Sir William Hunter, in a speech at the Centenary Missionary Conference held in London in 1888, said: "Foreign missions is the spiritual complement of England's instinct for colonial expansion and imperial rule. I believe that, any falling of England's missionary effort will be a sure sign of swiftly coming national decay."

General Sir Charles Warren, formerly Governor of Natal, said, "For the preservation of peace between the colonists and natives, one missionary is worth a battalion of soldiers."

In the above-mentioned "Encyclopedia of Missions," under the heading "Relation of Missionaries to Governments," it is said: "Germany, too, has the colonial fever, and the interest in missions has been increased all over the land because it is believed that, even if missionaries are not successful as Christianizers of heathendom, they can be used wisely as Germanizers of certain parts of it. As a veteran missionary friend in Germany puts it, 'The opinion

of the German African Society with regard to missionary societies is that they are not unselfish attempts to spread the gospel, but merely handmaids to colonial politics—a cow to give milk to the mother country'."

Even John Foster Dulles is a supporter of missions. He said in 1949: "If our spiritual effort is to supplement adequately our material effort, our Christian people must see the supreme value of Christian missions and rally to their support." To Dulles, missionary work is, thus, a "spiritual supplement" to the current American world policy!

It is in this context that even intelligence services have been regarded as worthy of missionaries. Thus, in September 1955, the *Christian Century* of Chicago, in an editorial, admitted: "Accusations of espionage cannot, unfortunately, be so confidently dismissed....It is known that strong pressures have been brought on individual missionaries and mission boards to place their information at the disposal of our intelligence services. They have been called on to do so in the name of patriotism—an appeal hard to resist. Some missionaries and some mission boards in some instances have responded to such appeals. This is a matter which has been discussed, almost in whispers, behind the closed doors of many missionary bodies."

And this only confirms what has been said by the Rev. John Liggins as early as 1888 in his book "The Great Value and Success of Foreign Missions" to the effect that missionaries "have often offered to the Government and to its officers information which could not have been so well obtained otherwise."

Frank and frightening statements such as those quoted can be given at much greater lengths. They have been uttered, often with great pride, by leaders and authorities in missionary circles. From these statements alone, we can realize how great the "benefits" of missions have been, *i.e.*, to imperialism. Consequently, all those who have any conscience cannot but conclude that colonialism and imperialism has made use of missions. This use which imperialism makes of missions has greatly blemished the Church. Today, the Chinese Church's promotion of self-administration, self-support and self-propagation for the purpose of purifying the inner life of the Church from imperialist influences is, therefore, completely legitimate.

However, Dr. Warren writes that "successive imperialisms have made a significant contribution to the realization of the vision of the time when 'the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of God as the waters cover the sea'" (p. 27). To push this argument to its logical conclusion, we ought rightly to beautify Judas Iscariot for his love of money and betrayal of Christ which brought about our Lord's crucifixion and hence, our redemption!

We know that our God is righteous. He is certainly not unscrupulous in the choice of means as to call imperialism to His service. He is at the same time almighty; He is certainly not so weak as to have to rely on imperialism in order to bring men and women unto Himself. Any true work of evangelism must depend on the truth of the gospel itself to convict people of sin and to bring them to repentance. It must not depend on any political, economic or military power.

We do not at all feel obliged to imperialism for having "proved itself to be capable of being a vehicle of this revelation". (p. 25). Imperialism cannot be that vehicle; it is only an obstacle to that revelation. We rather thank God for that imperialism has not been permitted to be such an obstacle for long and is being removed. But, if there had been no imperialism and no imperia-

list exploitation of mission work in China during the last century, our Church would not have been thought of and dismissed by many of our people as an instrument of Western aggression and would be now much stronger numerically and qualitatively. If Christianity has not been presented in China in company with unequal treaties, warships, guns and the opium but through normal equal international contacts, what do we thereby have to lose?

History and the Will of God

God is the Lord of history. On this we agree with the author. But from this we certainly have no right to draw the conclusion that all happenings in history—including the imperialist penetration of Africa and Asia and utilization of missionary work in that penetration—are bound to be in accordance to God's will. There have been only too many events in history (and there still are today) which God hates and from which the Church ought rightly to dissociate itself.

Our God is not such a helpless and amoral being that His operation is dependent on "the great concentration of power represented by the empires" (p. 19). God is almighty and just and cannot permit His will to be long retarded by the evil forces the empires of the world temporarily manipulate.

It is true the Bible says, "The wrath of man shall praise thee" (Ps. 76.10). But this is far from suggesting that imperialism is "beloved" of God and can offer God praises. How dare we equate imperialism with the "wrath of man". Today, the peoples of colonial lands have awakened. They have risen to oppose imperialism and have ignited the fire of independence and liberty. Rather their cause has more of a right to claim to be an embodiment of the "wrath of man".

The author puts his hope for a new lease of life for imperialism in Britain's seemingly prosperous North American partner. That, indeed, is an "American Dream". American imperialism, as an actor in the drama of world conquest, has arrived at the stage of history half a century too late. Today, in any colonial land, no matter whether the power is embodied in a battalion of soldiers or in an American missionary, if it is backed up by imperialism, it cannot help being dismissed as "something minted in hell" by all true Christians and ment of integrity.

The gospel of Christ never changes. The Church's mission to preach that gospel also never changes. The truth that believers of the gospel in all nations are saved by Christ and belong to the One Body of Christ is likewise changeless. But, in every moment of history, it is always men who are called to choose. "I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing" (Dt. 30.19). How are Western missionary organizations to find for themselves their right place, if any, in the ongoing, God-ordained task of evangelizing the world? An important part of the answer lies in their choice of freedom from a political encumbrance which comprises their integrity in face of the people's struggle for independence.

There is a great deal to be said for this Chinese Christian reading of the relation between Christian Missions and Western Imperialism. My own approach to that relation has however a different emphasis. I notice that I wrote about it in 1947, and I do not see any reason to change the basic view expressed there. The reference is to *India Seeks Democracy*, in *Student World*, 3rd December 1947. It is mainly

a historical survey of the ideas of Indian Nationalism. The following is an extract from the second part which deals with a Christian critique:

> No historical article in a journal of this kind should go without a Christian judgment pronounced on it. And Christian judgment is not merely judgment from a particular ideological point of view; if it is to be real, it must be a theological judgment, that is, the news of what God has done to judge and redeem the very history of imperialism *versus* nationalism, which has been the subject of our historical survey. The history of the Christian Church in India is that act of God. And no historical survey of nationalism is truly historical, until it reckons with that other history beginning with St. Thomas the Apostle and continuing in the modern missionary movement, wherein is to be found the meaning both of imperialism and the national movement. The great new fact of modern India is that there is a People of God in India in daily conversation with the British imperialists and the Indian nationalists, calling them to a common decision to repent and enter the elect nation, the divine fulfilment of all that they seek, and seek amiss, outside it. The Church in India is the critique of the Indian National Movement.
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> The Church in India has presented to nationalism a stumbling block which is of the essence of the nature of Church. The liberalism of the early reformers, the orthodox Hinduism of Tilakian nationalism, the neo-Hinduism of the Gandhian era and the Marxism of the left have all reacted in some measure great or small against the fact that Christian faith should have come as a news from without and that imperialism could have been used in the providence of God for the spread of the gospel and the building up of the Church in India. Some of them would gladly accept Christian ideas and ideals as true and incorporate them into their basic faith; but the historical community of the Church in India, standing on the news of an historical event outside India, and brought to India from outside, a news which refuses to be reduced to an ideology which could be absorbed, is the rock of offence. But the historical is of the very essence of the encounter with the personal God, and in opposing it, Indian nationalism reveals the principle of self-righteousness and the sovereignty of man, which are at the root of Indian nationalism, and judges itself.
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> Here I do not want to forget the fact that sometimes the Christian Church in India, seeing God using Western imperialism for the spread of the Gospel in India, has falsely interpreted it to mean that the missionary movement was a justification of imperialism and has sought to support imperialism. This has added a scandal of man to the scandal of God thus confusing the nationalist and blinding him from clearly seeing the offence of the gospel. If the missionary movement would justify and uphold imperialism, it was only right if some considered the struggle against imperialism as including opposition to the Christian missions also. But today, as the scandal of man is being removed and Christians are sharing the passion for national freedom with their non-Christian brethren, the peril is that the Church may conform itself to nationalism and give up the scandal of particularism of the good news of Christ crucified, of her history through missions and of her election. The demand upon the Church in India is that it be the Church, that it may be a Christian critique of Indian nationalism.

This, I suppose, is a subject on which more conversations between the Churches in India and China should take place before we can develop a more satisfactory Christian interpretation.

THE WITNESS OF THE CHURCHES AMIDST SOCIAL CHANGE*

(An EACC Study Document)

Introduction

THE Churches of East Asia are called to be witnesses together to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. What is this Gospel?

Firstly, it is a Gospel of redemption of the whole human race and of the whole created world. By His death and resurrection Jesus Christ has reconciled "all things to himself". His purpose is not to withdraw individual spirits one by one from their involvement with material things and human communities, in order to set them in a "purely spiritual" relation to Himself. Rather His goal is "to unite all things in Him". Therefore the churches' witness to the redemption of Christ must inevitably include the message of the renewal of society.

Secondly, it is a Gospel of the Kingship of Christ over the world. Therefore the meaning of world history, including that of modern Asian history is to be discovered in that Kingship, which today is hidden and will be revealed at the end of time. The Church must endeavour to discern how Christ is at work in the revolutions of contemporary Asia, releasing new creative forces, judging idolatry and false gods, leading peoples to a decision for or against Him and gathering to Himself those who respond in faith to Him, in order to send them back into the world to be witnesses to His Kingship. The Church must not only discern Christ in the changing life but be there in it, responding to Him and making His presence and lordship known.

It is this that is the substance of the Church's witness amidst social change in Asia today. It is our common conviction that the Church should be full participant in the new life of Asia, if she is to be effective in witnessing to Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour.

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* This is the Report of a Commission of the Inaugural Assembly of the East Asia Christian Conference which was held in Kuala Lumpur in May 1959. On the Report the Assembly took the following action: *This Assembly receives the report of the Commission on the Church's Witness Amidst Social Change as a valuable study document and passes it on to the member Churches for consideration and further study.* The section on *Religious Liberty* was adopted by the Assembly as *an expression of the common conviction of the Assembly.*

The EACC has also appointed Committees to stimulate study and co-ordinate action among the Churches of Asia in the fields of *Church and Society* and *International Affairs and Religious Liberty.*

Our discussions as Christians about economics, politics and society are therefore conversations about Jesus Christ, that is to say, an attempt of faith to discern Him in the social changes of our nations, and to discover what it means to respond to His call in relation to these changes.

We do not use religious language in this report. We are dealing with what God is doing in secular affairs and man's response must be a secular response. There is no particular virtue in religious language. In preparing this report we have had the leadership of qualified laymen. They seek through these discussions to discover not only the lay mission of the Church but their own place in that mission. Finally, the report claims no complete discernment on the topics it raises. We are all participating in a continuing conversation of the Church's witness in the midst of social change.

In our Commission we have examined three areas of Christian responsibility in Asian society: political life, economic and social development, and new forms of Christian service. We offer the following comments as a basis for further study. We also indicate some lines of action by the Churches as well as the EACC.

I. Responsibilities in Political Life

Certain Political Trends

In the wake of independence there are two major drives in the contemporary life of the countries of East Asia: first, the groping of the peoples to discover a meaningful national selfhood; and second, their determination to secure rapid economic advance and social justice. Secular democracy and economic progress by themselves do not satisfy the deepest longing of the individual for participation in community. They are, therefore, threatened by traditional community ties of culture, religion, caste, etc., which give him a sense of belonging. In this tussle the longing for community often proves stronger. Moreover democracy and economic progress are suspect as Western cultural aggression. This situation is capable of endangering both nationhood and its economic goals.

The conflicts thus created tend to retard the development of effective government in the East Asian region. Added to this, parliamentary democracy newly introduced, has shown itself subject to great strains due to the lack of emotional integration of the people as a nation and to the limited educational preparation for universal political responsibility.

The Idea and Form of Democracy

Is parliamentary government the best method in all circumstances for preserving those Christian values enshrined in the word "democracy"?

And is not the development of more authoritarian systems in certain circumstances a more effective means of safeguarding them? These questions are being asked in East Asian countries today. Democracy defined as a system of government holding freedom, order and justice in balance can be distinguished from democracy as a parliamentary method of controlling government. But when parliamentary methods of control over the power of government are abandoned, the Christian, who knows the danger of the corruption of power, is bound to ask what other methods of checks and balances are available, in alternative systems. Ultimately a system of government will be tested by its capacity to develop a sense of community among its people, achieve their deliverance from economic bondage and preserve the basic liberties of individuals and associations. It is our conviction that this balance of objectives will be best preserved only by a democratic political system. The challenge before the East Asian countries is to find an indigenous and dynamic form of democracy. It is not necessary to adopt patterns worked out in the different circumstances of Western society; but our forms should provide strong government committed to national integration and national development and at the same time, a government answerable to the people. Furthermore, for the success of any system of democracy and to achieve economic and social progress, men have to enter into meaningful relationships; for this purpose a web of voluntary associations are necessary. This will give rise to a pluralistic society in which people can overcome the vacuum and rootlessness resulting from the break-up of old patterns and ideas. We may also stress at this stage the extreme importance of exploring and evaluating the cultural past of the great religions in this area, in order to set forth in greater relief the ethical values in them which have relevance to the national search for freedom and social justice. Indigenous cultural foundations are necessary for the emergence and sustenance of a healthy democratic secular society.

The Functions of the State in Contemporary Asia

Static political structures cannot answer the needs of an Asia in revolution. In response to the changing social situation in East Asia today the State has a dynamic role. It is called to function not merely as a guardian of peace and order but as the chief organiser of human welfare and promoter of the growing sense of national selfhood.

In connection with these three functions of the State in Asia—to promote national community, economic revolution and human rights —we are often faced with the question of priorities. Many Asians, especially intellectuals and workers, are fascinated and challenged by the quicker pace of economic development in China under communism. They would like to put economic progress as the first priority even when

they are aware of the disregard of human rights involved. Others would give national independence or individual freedom the first place.

This is no doubt a real problem of practical politics. However, as Christians, our concern is not to set precise priorities but to insist that all three purposes of the State must be preserved in the best possible balance. The pursuit of any one of them at the expense of the others will result ultimately in the denial of all.

Much Christian thinking, particularly in the West, has emphasized the necessity to limit State power. This is necessary also in the present Asian situation of social development. But in Asian countries we must stress the positive functions of government in the re-ordering of economic life, and the duty of Christians and other citizens to accept the authority of the State and a great measure of state-imposed discipline, as a means to social progress.

Nationalism in Asia, in contrast to the experience in the West, must be recognized as a positive, integrating rather than a disruptive, force. Nevertheless there are at least two dangers: (*a*) There is the danger that a majority cultural or ethnic group or party, may identify itself with the nation, making use of the State for its self-interest. (*b*) There is the demand for self-determination of minority groups which may endanger national unity and lead to the disintegration of the nation-state. These dangers are enhanced in Asia where people have a tendency to give themselves exclusively to a single loyalty. Therefore it is of the utmost importance to foster those checks on and balances of loyalties if we are to develop a democratic structure enshrining fundamental human liberties. In a situation where narrow and inclusive loyalties clash, the need for expanding loyalties and overriding purposes for the sake of national goals, cannot be overstressed.

Furthermore, to create the ethos necessary for steady progress of the nation on democratic lines, the State needs to be responsive and firm: responsive to the legitimate grievances of people and firm in dealing with disturbances that create disorder. One of the marks of a responsible society is that people have opportunities to share in the power and responsibilities of government. Orderly channels of representation are necessary to thrash out differences of ideas and interests. Where these are lacking people tend to resort to direct action against the government. This weakens the basis of democracy and the embryonic democratic institutions in our countries.

Christian Participation in Political Life

The nation is more than the State, but participation in the life of the nation involves participation in the life of the State. The major obstacle to Christian participation in political life is the failure to

recognize the lay mission of the Church and the Church's direct involvement in the world for the sake of witness. The inheritance of a pietistic Christian tradition coupled with escapist tendencies already inherent in the Asian religious traditions have to be counteracted. This requires a renewal of the Christian understanding of the world. A form of society and a programme of political action cannot be derived directly from the Gospel. But effective exercise of Christian responsibility in political life requires a knowledge of the concrete political realities and techniques, and the capacity to evaluate alternate possibilities in the light of the revealed purpose of God for men and society.

There is no Christian politics in the sense of a universal Christian political line. This is the reason why we have grave doubts about the propriety of naming any political party as Christian. Its programme is bound to be limited by political possibilities and the political realities of a given situation. There are places where Christians can participate fully and fruitfully in politics only by developing a party of thier own. This may be justified in situations where other parties are based upon religious ideologies which Christians cannot accept or where secular parties provide no opportunities for effective participation. In Indonesia where a Christian party exists it has no official connection with the Church, but we see some embarrassment in the name it has chosen.

The Christian's involvement in the political life of his country requires that the Churches organize adequate political education for their own members, for youth and adults alike. And further, we urge that the churches offer such educational services on responsible citizenship to the larger community, including Christians and non-Christians. This is not only a proper act of service to the nation. It will also help Church members to confront the realities of public life which they must understand if they are to fulfil their public responsibility.

Christian witness in the world is mainly fulfilled by the lay members of the Church regarding their daily work as a Christian vocation. This means that the Church's witness in political life is mainly articulated as its members become involved in the responsibilities of citizenship at municipal, national and international levels.

International Relations

The Commission did not discuss for lack of time all the international problems of importance to Asian nations and Churches. We have confined ourselves to a few problems of special importance.

The Church as a world fellowship faithful to a universal gospel of reconciliation is inescapably committed to the cause of world community and peace. We are concerned in every constructive effort

to reduce the tension between the two power-blocs, in the hope that the threat of war may be eliminated and the foundations of a stable peace laid.

The Commission considered the specific problem of atomic tests and nuclear weapons. This problem cannot be isolated from the related problems of international tensions and the prevention of war, and we recognize the technical and political complexities involved in dealing with this question. The Commission discussed some of the issues raised in the reports of the CCIA and in other ecumenical pronouncements. Asian opinion is unanimous in its protest against the use of nuclear weapons and tests. This is based not only on the evil effects of the atomic fall-out on Asian nationals but on the ground also of humanitarian concern. We believe that Christian opinion in Asia fully endorses and supports the peoples of Asia in this respect. We hope that the nations which carry on atomic tests will pay heed to the voice of Asia which alone has experienced the terrible effect of the atomic bomb and has suffered acutely the baneful consequences of atomic tests. The Churches in the area are unanimous in their desire that in the larger interests of humanity the testing of atomic weapons should stop. We hope that none of the power-bloc countries will bring in or stock atomic weapons in the East Asian states which are involved in military pacts. We welcome the growth of a new realistic and dynamic pacifism in the world. At the same time we recognize the fact that the complex situation between the great powers affords no easy solution.

The Commission discussed other crucial international problems but could not come to any common mind due to serious divisions of opinion. The Asian Churches are only at the beginning of their conversation with each other and little progress has been made to reach a common understanding of what God is doing in the life of nations in Asia today. One thing however disturbs us. The divisions of opinion among us, exactly or almost exactly, reflect the divisions of opinion at the State-level. Christians in all countries tend to identify themselves uncritically with the official views of their governments. The result is an inability to view the issues of international life and relations afresh and without prior commitment. This calls for the growing together of the Member Churches in the EACC for the purpose of exploring further the Christian criteria of our witness in international affairs. The EACC has a special vocation to exercise the ministry of reconciliation in inter-Asian tensions. There are also outstanding problems which bedevil relations between Asian countries and the West and make the development of constructive Asian nationalism

more difficult, *e.g.*, West Irian. In this sphere also, the EACC may play a leading role as a channel for responsible Asian opinion.

II. Religious Liberty

We, Members of the East Asia Christian Conference, affirm the declaration on religious liberty, made by the Bangkok East Asia Christian Conference of 1949, as follows: "The most fundamental freedom is religious freedom. Nations are not truly free unless they recognize that each citizen has the right to decide for himself what religion he will profess, and that each religion has the right to proclaim its convictions without interference. We are glad to find that in most Asian lands these truths have been stated in the national constitutions. We hope that the religious liberty clause of the United Nations Charter of Human Rights will be increasingly acknowledged as the standard of action in this field.... But we also are aware that the official acceptance of these principles often goes together with theories and policies which are in fact a denial of religious freedom. We hear of legislation which makes Christian evangelism virtually impossible in certain areas. We hear of discrimination against Christians and of material advantages being offered them if they will adopt the dominant religion of the country. We also are concerned about the trend in certain nations for the State to assume responsibility for the organisation of the religious life, which is the province of religious communities and not of the State."

As we consider the situation today, we can state the following: We are glad that in so many of the newly independent nations of Asia today the principle of religious liberty has been recognized by the incorporation of a statement of human rights in their constitutions. We are, however, aware of tendencies which give rise to concern lest the concept of religious liberty be limited only to freedom of worship, which is only a part of this right.

It is evident that religious liberty involves our acceptance of the plurality of religions and Christians should not in the name of religious freedom claim any right or privilege which they are not willing to grant to others.

We call upon all men to observe the provisions of the United Nations declaration on religious freedom: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public and private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance." (Art. 18, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations*, 10th December 1948.) *We understand this statement to include the right of every man to persuade his fellowmen of the truth of his convictions and to render public witness*

to his faith, and the right of the Church to evangelize those who are willing to listen to its message.

Even where adequate safeguards of religious liberty are provided by law, they may in fact be nullified by the pressures of the social environment, community and family life. We have the task to convince all sections of our people that for the sake of true freedom and the dignity of man and for the sake of developing true responsibility, it is necessary that every man should be given full freedom to make his own religious choice, for, in the last analysis, true human freedom and its preservation depend on the right of everyone to decide in matters of conscience and religion.

Consideration of religious liberty raises the question of the relation between religion and the State. It is conceded that some limitation of religious liberty is necessary in the interests of public order, health and morality. Besides, in the relation between religion and State, three distinct patterns are discernible: the secular State, the neutral State which supports all religions, and the State which adopts the religion of the majority as the State-religion. Any one of these three may be compatible with the preservation of true religious liberty, provided: (a) *the State embodies fundamental rights of the human person including religious liberty clearly in its legal system and ensures their observance in practice*; (b) *it is recognized that religious freedom is anterior and superior to the State's power, and that it is presumptuous for the State to assume that it can grant or deny fundamental rights.*

III. Problems of Economic and Social Development

Christians and Economic Development in Asia

The Asian countries are engaged in a struggle to realize a vast programme of social and economic development. As Christians, we are concerned with that struggle because it is, in several important respects, an expression of man's struggle to give meaning to his life. In Jesus Christ is revealed the true nature of God, His will and purpose for man and society. The whole of social and economic life is included in the cosmic purpose of God. In the realization of this eternal purpose we are fellow-labourers with Christ. And therefore it must be the concern and duty of everyone to participate in the search for moral foundations of society and the building up of a new economic life.

What is the Christian evaluation of the people's urge for higher standards of living and economic welfare? Many in the Church tend to dismiss this urge as materialistic. It is true that man does not live by bread alone. But it must be affirmed strongly by the Churches that economic welfare is a necessary means of the good life. It becomes materialistic when it is conceived as the end of life. Looked at in the

right perspective the search for material security and economic justice which is a basic drive in Asia may become a sign of the abundant life which Christ has promised. With wrong spiritual motivation it may also become a curse.

The relation of economic development to human values and to the Christian meaning of life needs to be clarified in the present Asian situation. This is possible only through Christian participation in the processes and plans of economic development. Productivity and industrialization are certainly not means of spiritual salvation, nor are they a panacea for all the social ills of life. But they are gifts of God and the marks of God's providence to men in this generation. The Churches, too often indifferent to God's creative activity in this area of life, have given the initiative to the forces of materialism. The need of the impoverished masses in Asia reaches to heaven, crying for an emancipation revealed in the love of God through Christ.

The basic aim of the development programmes of the Asian countries should be to bring about social justice, to provide equal opportunity for free development of the individual person, to raise the standard of living and to secure the general welfare. In the light of the above a careful evaluation has to be made of the existing economic development programme of Asia.

—Harsh poverty continues to be one of the most disturbing facts of most countries of Asia. For example, it is reported from a Christian study conference in Indonesia that for the majority of the Indonesian people, the present economic situation marks a decline in the level of life.

—In many areas, for example in India and the Philippines, there is continuing large-scale unemployment and underemployment. This is a serious problem for these nations and especially for their youth.

—In still other areas, for example in Japan, the danger is that the relatively high level of income which has been achieved will decline if new capital investment and higher degrees of efficiency are not realised.

The immediate aims of economic development in Asia are clear: increased productivity of labour, especially in agriculture, expansion of industrial output, and increased trade between the Asian countries and with the rest of the world. And all this must be accompanied by a determined will to distribute equitably the new wealth created by this economic development. This action is necessary to provide jobs, homes and food for millions who are looking for employment and a livelihood. But if this is to be realized it requires a great new effort

of economic and social development in Asia. There is a reservoir of wealth and human resources in Asia to make this possible.

The Pattern of Economic Development

What structure and pattern of development should be adopted to bring about this needed economic expansion? Economic development involves capital accumulation, its efficient investment, the mobilization of labour and its training in the techniques of modern industrial enterprise and the development of the standards of administrative and technical efficiency without which modern organized economic life is impossible.

The whole of Asia is challenged by the Communist claim to provide the means of rapid economic improvement which these countries seek. The basic question confronting people is whether such rapid development can be achieved in the setting of a parliamentary political system built on free elections and universal suffrage and without recourse to totalitarian methods. The primary task in Asia is to secure freedom from want through responsible economic planning without which the growth of the institutions of democracy will be seriously threatened.

In view of the above the Churches need to keep certain fundamental points clearly in mind:—

—It is recognized by competent economists in Asia and elsewhere that economic development in the countries of East Asia involves planning by the State, implementation and control of this planning, the formation of new industries through government initiative and at the same time the stimulation of the co-operative movement on a wide scale. Because of the large measure of State initiative and control implied in this pattern of development, several Asian nations have defined their goal in economic life as socialism, or the socialist pattern of society. This method of economic development is based primarily on practical rather than ideological considerations. In all these countries the State-plans for development recognize the important role of private enterprise. But the magnitude of the social and economic development required in Asia today is so vast and pressingly urgent that it is impractical to rely primarily on private enterprise operating within the framework of the free market system.

—The practical and moral problems of carrying out a planned social and economic development programme cannot be overlooked. Our Christian view of man and society requires us to call attention to the dangers of government bureaucracy

coupled with the accumulation of power, the growth of an attitude which considers that man is only a unit in a mass society.

Christians in Asia must continually reaffirm that the Gospel transcends all economic ideologies. By their acknowledgement and interpretation of the Lordship of Christ over the world they can help their fellow-men to understand the necessity for rapid industrial development, the moral ambiguity of the techniques employed, and challenge the inevitable tendency to give particular patterns of economic organization a religious sanction which they do not deserve.

Goals of Economic Planning in Asia

Land reform.—Most of the Asian Governments are making serious efforts to rid themselves of old feudal land-holding patterns in agriculture. Pakistan, for example, has recently made significant progress in this regard. In most countries private ownership by cultivators is now accepted as a matter of principle. These countries have also undertaken large programmes of agricultural development to support their programmes of land reform: rural financing, provision of better seeds and fertilizers, and other aids to farmers. But all these efforts are not yet producing results adequate to make the countries self-sufficient in food and to overcome rural unemployment. The problem of increasing agricultural production is of the greatest importance because of the increasing population. But the solution is connected with the pattern of land ownership and with land reform. Where land has been divided in small parcels for private ownership by peasants there is the need to develop co-operative farming to ensure the best utilization of the land and other resources.

The development of co-operative farming raises questions of incentives, freedom of private ownership and productivity. What is the thinking of the Church on these questions? Should the Church encourage its members to take part in a programme of farming co-operatives? These questions are very real in many countries.

—For example, in India, the State is making good progress with regard to land tenures, rural credit facilities, marketing and community development. But it is not sufficient to solve the food problem. The leaders in India are now proposing co-operative farming which has led to a great controversy in the country. There is also the proposal to develop small-scale industry in rural areas to help make rural population self-supporting and to provide employment for the surplus rural population.

—In Japan, every village has its own co-operative society. Today most of the 6 million farm families of Japan are included in

these co-operatives. They are, in the main, multi-purpose co-operatives though some are specialized for the field of horticulture and dairying. The co-operative movement has been given much encouragement by the Government.

—In the Philippines, land reform is carried out by breaking up landed estates which are purchased by the Government and sold to the tenants in small parcels. The Government is also giving public lands free to homesteaders who will agree to till the land for a specified period after which they receive title. The Government has also offered land to landless dissidents who were fighting the Government, and this action has been successful in stopping this Communist supported rebellion.

Industrialization.—The most important element in the economic development of Asia is to step up the rate of industrialization. This is necessary to provide work for a growing population which cannot find employment on the land. Governments now are giving more attention to the urgent need for rapid expansion in the industrial sector. To make this possible there must be new efforts for capital accumulation, more facilities for the training of managers and skilled workers, planning for balanced industrial life, and provision for the many new social problems which arise with the development of industrial community. In this process there are many hard choices: between greater capital accumulation and the expansion of welfare services; choices between producers goods and consumer goods industries; and choices in the location of industry which involves the movement of population to new homes and a new environment. There is also the necessity to work out patterns of industrial development which mitigate the inhuman break-up of village societies and the creation of disorderly aggregations of cities.

Community Development.—The economic development for which Asian countries are striving is often hindered by cultural and social elements in the life of the community. For example, in many countries the caste or traditional communal group and joint family system prevent the freedom of the individual to change his occupation or to develop new patterns of work. Traditional and negative attitudes toward life and toward work also are hindrances for the development of industrial society. And in many parts of Asia, the classical religions take a negative or fatalistic attitude toward the world and this hinders positive action for the development of the economic and social life. In some areas in the process of change there is also confusion about moral standards and the result is corruption in public and private life which plays havoc with programmes of economic development.

It is our conviction that the churches should be deeply involved in the whole process of economic and community development. Otherwise all talk of moral and spiritual values will remain unrelated to the technical and social realities of the situation. In most Churches this concern is yet to be realized. While differing and sometimes conflicting views are held on the solution of industrial and agrarian problems, especially in the different situations of Asia, there is a need to study these problems within the Christian community and to try to discern God's will in the light of the various situations. The Churches have pioneered in creating new forms of community life and now that the nation is alive to the new possibilities they must make their contribution within the total national movement as it seeks to build community on a new basis. They cannot leave the field to the State and its experts.

In this realm the Church has distinctive insights based on the Christian understanding about the dignity of work, the concern for social justice and individual freedom, the protection of women's rights, the place of reason in approaching social problems, and the responsibilities of social movements in community life.

Special Problems Connected with Social and Economic Development

Trade unions and peasant organizations have arisen in Asia due to the felt need of the workers to protect their rights and prevent exploitation; to secure a more equitable share in the earnings of industry; to guard the tenure of their employment; to provide a means of fellowship and community in the midst of the lonely crowd which is created by modern industrial society. These associations will inevitably play an important role in the economic and social development of Asian countries. Christians must be more aware of the problems and the struggles of these movements if they are to understand and relate themselves to the creative thinking of the masses of the people in their communities. They must help produce leadership for these movements and they must support their members who are participants in these organizations. The indifference to the problems of these mass movements of workers and peasants reveals one of the fundamental weaknesses of the Churches in Asia today.

One of the obstacles to more rapid economic progress in many Asian countries is the restriction put upon women thus immobilizing a large segment of national human resources. The improved status of women is a vital concern of a church which seeks to promote both the individual and the general welfare. In many countries religious factors underly such restraints and it is one of the urgent theological and sociological tasks of the Church to interpret Christian teaching

regarding the place of women in the home, in the community, in vocational pursuits, and in the national life.

Health and welfare are also of special importance in economic development. In Asia these matters cannot be left to voluntary action and individual responsibility; they are an important concern of government. In this connection there are some hard choices between more or less industrial development and more or less welfare and health programmes. The Christian community can help supplement government programmes and it can do much to see that Christians around the world face the realities of the situation.

Population Growth and Family Planning

Falling death-rates without decrease in birth rates is causing a rapid population increase in Asian countries. This is adding to the strains on food resources and land scarcity in many regions. Rapid increase of population, high density of population and overpopulation in relation to resources, all confront the Christian Churches with issues demanding positive satements for the guidance of the Church members and leaders. One of the problems is that some Churches in East Asia do not wish to discuss these questions.

The following might be considered at all levels in the Churches: (*a*) Local, national and regional consultations in which social workers, doctors, theologians and economists participate for study of the issues; (*b*) Church participation in studies organized by non-church groups; (*c*) Campaigns under Church auspices for the dissemination by competent persons of information about family limitation by ascetic and or scientific means.

We affirm that limitation of the size of the family is a decision to be reached responsibly by husband and wife. (It is obligatory on educational agencies in this field to aim their programmes at men as well as women.) There can be good Christian reasons for limiting the family apart from demographic considerations of controlling population. Considerations of family welfare must be regarded as supreme. To belittle the family in the interest of general population control is by Christian standards a sin.

Governments in various Asian countries are giving much attention to these questions. In India, Pakistan and Indonesia, the Government is taking an active interest in family planning and is promoting research to find new and suitable methods of birth control.

The Japanese Government is conducting programmes of public education on birth control and the use of contraceptives. It is to be hoped that there will be such an increased acceptance of this programme

that the widespread resort to abortion, either legal or illegal, will be generally discarded as a means of family limitation.

In connection with population problems the resettlement of peoples as a result of demographic considerations must be studied further. We hope the migration conference being organized by the World Council of Churches will take up this question.

Industrialization of nations can often so increase their resources that a rise of population may occur without economic and social strain. The Churches must accept responsibility for assisting in such industrialization by supporting related moves for the international control of raw material supplies and freer access to the markets of the world.

Foreign Economic Aid and Technical Assistance

It is generally agreed that economic development in Asia can be greatly accelerated with economic aid and technical assistance from abroad. The psychological, ethical and other aspects underlying this problem have been well-formulated in many recent ecumenical statements. We recommend for study the formulations of the Siantar study conference on *The Social Goals of New Asia* (Siantar, Sumatra, March 1957) and the recent statement by the World Council of Churches (Nyborg, 1958) which show very well the present state of thinking in the Churches. Our Commisison is in general agreement with these statements.

Participation of the Christian Community in Programmes of Economic Development

The Churches have not only to be concerned with the fundamental ethical and spiritual questions involved in national programmes of economic development in Asia. They can also initiate imaginative action projects aimed at meeting the needs of their neighbourhood. Churches must continue to stimulate action in this field in which they pioneered in the past.

—In India and the Philippines and in Japan, there are many Christian centres for education and research on the practical economic problems of rural life. More use can be made of these centres by Churches throughout Asia. In Indonesia, particularly, there is a desire to secure training for their youth and Church workers in the field of community organization and projects for economic betterment.

—In many countries the Churches are experimenting with polytechnic schools as a means of helping youth to make better use of the new economic opportunities offered by national programmes of electrification and industrialization.

—There is particular need for more Christian study of the social and economic problems of urban areas and the opportunities for creative service in these areas.

—The EACC can help by sponsoring visits by experts to give advice on specific projects. In several countries there is a great desire for such advice. Japan, because of its great experience with small industry in the rural area, could be of particular service to other Asian countries in this respect.

It is our conviction that in this most important area of Christian education and service through community uplift, the Church itself need not always take the initiative but might rather encourage its members to form co-operative societies or other autonomous groups which will be responsible for carrying on the programmes.

The Impact of Technology on Traditional Common Life

The introduction of technology in the countries of Asia has brought into existence the factory system in which millions of rural agricultural people are coming to work. The nature of work in these modern factories is entirely different from work in the farm and in the small cottage industry. Technology increases the possibility of work becoming monotonous, fragmented, and apparently less creative.

The factory system also engenders impersonal relationships between employers and employees and even among employees themselves. This is partly the reason for the feeling of loneliness and isolation which drives the worker back to his village periodically.

Also, modern industrial work requires a form of training outside the family in technical institutions. It requires a new type of discipline with the labourer working in co-ordination with thousands of other workers. A slight delay or neglect can easily upset the assembly line. Therefore the worker has to adhere to a working schedule after which he has his leisure time. This clear demarcation between working time and leisure time is a new phenomenon for the villager.

The places of living and work are separated. Many factories are congested, ill-ventilated and unhygienic. The same is true of the residential quarters of the workers which are often mere slums, with degrading effect upon the health and personality of men, women and children.

Technological development also sets man in a new cycle of time. He is free from natural time but bounded by mechanical time. The hours of his work may be in contrast to his family schedule. He receives wages according to the time he has worked. Thus the notion: "time is money", becomes the underlying assumption of industrial

workers. Partly due to the low wages and also to the increasing competitive drive, industrial workers tend to become captive of a utilitarian view of life. Lacking healthy recreational facilities in the city they are prey to the temptations and misuses of leisure time, common in our large urban situations.

Thus while the transition from rural to industrial patterns of life creates the opportunity for growth of independent selfhood, it produces at the same time new forms of destructive pressure upon personality marked by loneliness in the city, new forms of bondage in organized industrial life, meaninglessness due to the mechanical drudgery of the new setting, and lack of creativity in work.

Technology also has its influence on rural life. Industrial cities draw the younger and more adventurous men from the villages. The community life of the villages is disrupted as a result of the new influences such as the money-economy. The village is no more a self-contained unit of production and consumption. It imports goods and services from other regions and even from abroad. Modern means of communication and transportation have speeded up this process. As a result the interdependence which held together the members of the village is disappearing.

Technology has also affected the rural families in important ways. Men come to the industrial towns leaving behind their wife and children. This frequently produces tensions and disintegration in family life. And the new avenues of work for women and the higher money incomes for the workers also affect the family life. The impact of technology on the traditional pattern of the family is therefore uprooting and disintegrating, and through the family the whole society is affected. Once isolated from one another by these disruptive forces, people can hardly be reunited on the basis of the family. New groupings like labour unions, factory clubs, etc., partly or entirely, take over the functions of the family.

In rural life ethical decisions are made within the framework of an intimate community based on custom. In modern industrial society these tend to be replaced by pressures of various organizations acting on the individual so that he feels a new uncertainty and ambiguity in moral decisions. He needs far greater spiritual resources to sustain himself in the situation and to give meaning to his new life. He needs also guidance to relate himself to the many new social groups without losing himself.

It is obvious that if the Church is to be a real shepherd and home to man in Asian society under the steadily increasing force of technology there is need for it to break away from traditional patterns of life and witness.

IV. Christian Service in the Framework of National Welfare and Development Plans

Throughout this report we have seen that the new factor in the Asian scene is the struggle of the peoples of Asia to build a new society. In the light of the plans for national welfare and development the Christian Church must reassess its traditional service institutions and find new ways suitable to the new situation. In this connection we would indicate a few basic principles to guide the new *diakonia* of the Church in Asia:

1. In the situation of rapid social change in Asia accompanied by the awakening of the ancient religions to social values and the development of State programmes for the welfare of the people, the emphasis of the Church should be more on the witness and service of individual Christians in secular institutions of national life than on Christian institutions of service. This calls for the Church to develop lay institutes for Christians in secular professions, for example, doctors, lawyers, teachers and social workers. It also calls for building up Christian fellowship of laymen working in the different professions. The laymen must be helped to understand their secular work and approach its problems in the light of the Christian revelation. They need a new form of theological education for this. Pastors must also be trained to support the ministry of the laity.

2. At a time when every form of Christian service involves active co-operation with the State and the Community (consisting of adherents of other religions and no religion) there is need for the Church to work out the theological and practical basis of such co-operation in planning and implementation of welfare services within a secular framework.

3. There is need for the State and voluntary agencies to define the areas where each can play a positive part. In most countries of East Asia the State recognizes the important role of voluntary action in social welfare. Often the voluntary welfare workers have great professional experience which the government recognizes. Furthermore, only the voluntary agencies can provide the human touch which most social services need. The inner life of men and societies can be transformed only through the response to voluntary action. Legislation for social change is necessary but there are definite limits to the coercive power of the State, in achieving social reform. The Church, therefore, along with other voluntary organizations, may have a larger part to play in national social development than ever before.

4. Generally speaking the emphasis of the Church in Asia should be on simple and mobile forms of service rather than in the building

of large institutions. Some large institutions will be necessary for training of leadership and meeting other special needs.

5. There are many areas in which the Church may still pioneer. For example, in areas where service requires personal sacrifice: in remote villages, or in congested areas of the city. Here the Church may very well challenge young people to the vocation of service and also prepare them and nurture them to meet this challenge. There are also opportunities to start new ventures; in fields such as handicapped children, the chronically ill and the aged, psychiatric clinics, rehabilitation of discharged patients, rehabilitation of discharged prisoners, help to villagers adjusting to urban life, education for citizenship and community, social work in slum areas, etc.

6. The Church may organize the enlistment of youth for short periods of voluntary service before marriage and entry into professional life.

We have briefly looked at the medical and educational services of the Church in the light of the new situation.

Medical Work.—

We are in general agreement with the conclusions and proposals made by the Hong Kong Conference on the "Christian In Medical Work in East Asia Today". [See *The Christian in the Medical Work in East Asia Today*, Pp. 101 and 102 of their Report, especially under (*a*), (*d*), (*e*), (*f*) and the last para of (*g*).]

*Christian Schools in a Changing Society**

The national goals of education are: (*a*) schooling for every child so that he can play his part as an intelligent and responsible citizen of his country (*b*), education for social cohesion and unity, and (*c*) education for the uplift of the standards of living.

We consider that the Christian Churches should relate themselves positively to these new goals and consider what their constructive contribution can be in relation to them. This requires radical reorganization of the Christian schools, so that they may express a concern not only for the economic and political means of life but also for the sense of values and the life of the spirit.

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* The Assembly of the EACC recognised that All-Asian Christian Consultations on the role of Christian schools in the changing Asian situation had not taken place before. But it affirmed the importance of such rethinking by taking separate action asking for serious study of the issue by the EACC. Though this section was thought inadequate as a Finding, it was retained in the Report as raising some crucial issues and as a possible starting point for further study by the Churches of Asia.

Everywhere we note the growing and increasing interest which the State takes in education. With this comes more and more control of all types of schools. The same may be said with varying degrees of religious bodies and society in general. On the one hand, the State believes that it must control the schools, because it wants to be sure that the children are brought up in loyalty to the new nation rather than to narrow groups. On the other hand, there are other bodies equally interested in greater control of schools for reasons of their own.

Christian schools cannot escape this trend. A new day calls for new insight and we should be willing to join hands with others in all matters which will bring about better education, which we interpret in terms of the truly abundant life. Talk of withdrawal and taking a stand on secondary issues is premature.

The right of the State to direct and co-ordinate education is granted. Christian schools take the position of either falling into line with this direction or standing out of State aid or even taking themselves out of the field of educational service. As far as possible Christian schools must co-operate with the State without compromising with Christian principles.

It is sad to note that in many countries of East Asia education is in the hands of politicians rather than educationalists. This interference of the politicians often has detrimental consequences which are far reaching. We urge that the State in its dealing with education, set up semi-autonomous organs consisting mainly of educationalists.

While granting the right of the State to plan education, the right of the Christian school to carry out its primary purpose in education must also be conceded by the State, *i.e.*, education for life, recognizing that only under God has life meaning and purpose.

In this context the right of parents to guide the education of their children under the total education plan must be granted. This includes choice of school, choice of medium of instruction and of religious education.

The increasing State control of education has this to its credit that it would normally provide an equal opportunity for every child in the country. It should therefore be the goal of State education to provide free primary, secondary and university education for every child that can use this opportunity. The temptation of the State to interfere with University education should be resisted.

Christian Teachers and Christian Schools

Men in the teaching profession should have a sense of Christian vocation and love of education. And Christian teachers should take up teaching as a form of Christian ministry.

Christian teachers can make a great contribution in State schools by their silent witness. More directly they can invite their pupils to Church and Sunday Schools when the opportunity presents itself.

We affirm our faith in Christian schools that they should be continued as long as they are needed. It may be the Church's contribution to the building up of the new nation and the new society. The Church dare not avoid its duty. Once it gladly and willingly entered into its educational tasks; now that the Asian countries have the large tasks of nation building, let the Church continue to lead the young. This may however mean reorganization at many levels, for instance in the relation between the school and the community around, the relation of the school with the educational system controlled by Government, etc.

It is unanimously agreed that Teachers' Training institutions are badly needed. This matter should have priority in consideration and action. Ways must also be found to train our teachers in the area where training has not been adequate, *i.e.*, religious education.

The Church must go into new educational fields. Each region should carefully study its needs and resources. The following have been mentioned:—

—Strengthening of Sunday Schools. The Church must be more aware and be more concerned about the Christian nurture and education of the children who attend State schools.

—There are special needs for women's education.

—Adult education, especially in civil rights and responsibilities.

—Youth training, youth camps, and exploration of the possibility of youth of different faiths 'living together'.

Religious Education in Schools.—Problems of religious education vary in different countries of East Asia. In India and Pakistan for example, the Constitution provides for the profession, practise and propagation of religion. India is a secular State and it does not give religious education in schools wholly supported by State funds. In recent times, however, there is a demand that moral instruction be given in all schools. Minorities, based on language or religion, have right to maintain schools of their choice. This would suggest that Christian schools are free to teach the Christian religion to Christian pupils. In practice, however, it is becoming increasingly difficult in India to hold chapel services or teach Christian scriptures except outside school hours.

Under these circumstances Christian Churches should strengthen their religious education programme, Sunday School and youth work. It is suggested that the Church may place more of its energy, its personnel

and finances in the development of the Christian education programme of the local Church. There are countries in Asia where a demand is being made by the State that in State-aided schools (such as Christian schools) every pupil be taught his or her own faith by their own religious teachers. There is a difference of opinion as to the right Christian approach to this situation. We recommend that this subject receive urgent attention and study by the EACC to guide areas where this has become an immediate problem.

Suggestions for Further Study and Action

The following lines for study and action are suggested for the consideration of the EACC and its member churches and national Christian Councils:—

1. *Political Life*

(1) Study and research on the idea and forms of dynamic democracy suitable to Asia, and survey of ways in which the concept and structure of parliamentary democracy is changing in Asia.

(2) Training of laymen for political responsibility in relation to lay institutes at the national and international levels; special conferences of functional groups particularly involving political scientists, politicians and theologians and pastors.

(3) National groups of experts formed under the auspices of the NCC's to study current legislation affecting human rights, to formulate a Christian critique and report findings to churches and Christian legislators.

(4) Survey of changing relation of religion and the State in general and of the Church and the State in particular. The purpose of this would be to discover the effect of new patterns of Church-State relations on society.

(5) Review of the theological conceptions and practical methods employed by Christians and churches in working out their political witness. The further examination of the idea of Christian political parties as a method of Christian participation in political affairs.

(6) Publication and promotion of literature on specific problems: responsible citizenship; the meaning of constructive nationalism; tensions of democracy; communalism *versus* national community; current political ideologies; democracy and economic planning, etc.

(7) Study of religions and cultures in Asia from the standpoint of their contribution to responsible political life.

(8) Education on the Christian basis of State and political action; a theological interpretation of major trends in political and social life. This might find a place not only in the theological colleges but also in the teaching of the laity.

2. *Economic and Social Life*

(1) Study groups involving laymen, such as economists and trade union leaders and businessmen, are needed in many countries to keep the Church informed of important developments in economic life and to provide a Christian interpretation of the basic problems of economic growth.

(2) Special consultations on specific issues are also needed: the meaning of the responsible society in rural areas undergoing change: the social problems of the new industrial urban areas; the effects of shifting population from rural to town, impact of city on family and individual; the problems of trade unions and other mass movements; the Christian understanding of work and vocation in newly industrialized societies; working conditions in the industry; the task of the Church in witnessing to new industrial workers.

(3) There is need for Christian literature and writing on such topics as: the meaning of the socialistic pattern of society in relation to the Christian conception of the Responsible Society; the goals of economic life in the planned society; the ethical assumptions underlying government population policy and the Christian critique of these assumptions; the rate of industrialization and the effect upon social relations; the distribution of wealth and income and the ethical problems involved: concentration of economic power in various groups in society and its effect on social relations; the effects of land reform and the issues involved in increasing the production of food, etc.

(4) There must be a new examination of the rate of economic development in relation to the possibilities of increasing foreign economic aid and technical assistance. There is also need for study of the effect of the economic and tariff policies of the Western nations on the living standards of the peoples of Asia. This might lead to a fresh conversation between the churches in Asia and the churches in Europe and the U.S.A. about their mutual responsibilities in this field.

3. *Christian Service and Christian Education*

(1) The biblical understanding of Christian service, diakonia and its relation to witness and to unity.

(2) The relation between service to the Christian community and service to those outside.

(3) Study of the concept of natural law, creative providence and common morality as a basis for Christian co-operation with non-Christians in the life of the community and the nation.

(4) The place of voluntary organizations in a welfare State and the place of Christian service in relation to other voluntary organizations, viewed from the Asian situation.

(5) Evaluation of missionary service policies in the past and present.

(6) Evaluation of the impact of social change on education in Asian countries. In the present Asian context, can schools be considered as a proper part of the mission of the Church? If so what is the contribution which the Church should seek to make through its schools?

(7) When it is no longer possible for schools to be used as a means of direct evangelism, should the Church retain its schools for the training of its own children? Do the advantages of doing so outweigh the disadvantages of segregating Christian children? Have we anything to learn by way of example of warning from the Roman Catholic Church practices in this matter?

(8) In areas where parents have no alternative to a Christian school, has the Church the right to insist on giving religious instruction to non-Christian children (when this is permitted) or of using methods of "indirect evangelism", having due regard for the principle that we should not deny as much religious liberty to others as we claim for ourselves.

(9) If Christian instruction may not be given to non-Christian children, are we right in accepting them in our schools? Do we believe in giving education without religion?

(10) If the State requires schools to provide religious instruction to every child in his own religion, the Church is faced with the following alternatives:—

(*a*) to close its schools or hand them over to the State;

(*b*) to admit only Christian children;

(*c*) to provide the religious instruction required by the State;

(*d*) to hand over the control of its schools to groups of Christian laymen, authorizing them to run the school in co-operation with non-Christians, on a community basis, to serve the total needs of the whole community.

Are any of these alternatives to be ruled out as wrong?

(11) Is there any validity in the argument, that the Church should retain control of its schools because of the support these institutions give to the life of the Church and or for the sake of giving security of employment to Christian teachers who serve in them?

POPULATION GROWTH AND FAMILY PLANNING

By C. M. Abraham, *Indore**

Nuclear weapons and the alarming increase in the world population are the two major man-made catastrophes which threaten the human race. The first threatens the total annihilation of mankind and the second brings in untold sufferings, deprivation, disease, warfare and ultimately chaos. Nuclear power can be controlled and used for the benefit of man and it is the responsibility of a small number of select individuals. Overpopulation which is now a global problem requires the immediate attention of all people whether married or not. Mankind has the obligation and duty to aim at a balance between numbers of people and the necessities of life in a context of optimum health rather than mere survival.[1] The world today is facing the challenge of feeding the rapidly increasing population. As yet most people do not connect in their minds inflation and underemployment with the rapid increase in the population numbers. The young couples of today and their parents are virtually unaware that in India the number of people is increasing so fast that by 1986, there will be as many children under 15, as there are people in India today, with a total population of 800 million unless the present birth-rate falls.[2]

Population Growth in India

Till 17th century, the population of India did not change materially. Between 1600 and 1750 there was a slow increase. At the time of the first census of India, 1871, the population was about 214 million. During 1871 and 1921, famine and plague took a heavy toll in human life. After 1921 population growth has been rapid and uninterrupted. In only 35 years, 136 million

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* Mr. C. M. Abraham is Head of the Department of Sociology at the Indore Christian College, Indore. In writting this paper and in revising it, idcas and suggestions of a working group consisting of Mrs. Wyon, Mrs. Masih, Dr. Ram Singh, Dr. T. S. Wilkinson, Rev. R. W. Taylor, Mr. M. P. John and Mr. M. M. Thomas have been incorporated. The group however has not seen the paper in this revised form.

people were added to the population. This increase is equivalent to the combined population of Itlay, France, Poland, Sweden, Denmark and Norway.[3] The increase of the population between 1941 and 1950 has been larger than during the previous decades. The present population of India (according to 1951 census 357 million) is four times what it was 150 years ago, and it has been estimated in the Census of India 1951, Part I–A Report, that by 1981, the population of India will be 529 million. Planning Commission's (Second Five-Year Plan) estimates also mention the same figure of 529 million by 1981. It will be interesting to note the estimates given in the report of Dr. Ansley J. Coale, Demographer, and Dr. Edgar H. Hoover, Economist. (This report summarises a unique and comprehensive study of India's prospects undertaken by the office of Population Research of Princeton University with the support of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.) It has been estimated that, if the fertility remained unchanged during the period 1951–1986, the projected population of India in 1981 will be 682 million (in 1986—775 million) and if the fertility assumed to decline linearly by a total of 50% between 1966 and 1981, the projected population will, by 1981, be 603 million (by 1986—634 million). The fertility rate on which the three above-mentioned estimates are based is 43·2 (1951 figure) per 1000 total population.[4]

The difference between births and deaths has been rightly termed the 'demographic gap'. This gap and the migrations determine growth or decline in human populations. But migrations play an insignificant role, except in rare circumstances. So the decisive factor is the difference in birth- and death-rates. In early periods of the history of the population of India, or to be more precise up to 1650, there was almost a balance between the birth- and death-rates. The high birth-rate was compensated by the high death-rate, due to famine and epidemics or the so-called "natural checks". And as a consequence of the high birth- and death-rates, populations varied up and down and there was slow increase.

Since seventeenth century, birth-rate remained high, but the death-rate began to come down. The alarming increase in population is not because there are relatively more births, but because of the low death-rates. Birth-rates have not increased but the death-rates have decreased considerably. According to

the estimates of Coale and Hoover, the death-rate has already declined from a level of about 31 per thousand in 1951, to about 25½ per thousand in 1956, and will be as low as 21 by 1966 and 15 by about 1975.[5] Such large differences between birth- and death-rates are a relatively recent phenomenon of the modern scientific age. This is the direct outcome of the Reformation emphasis on the value of each human life in the sight of God, and the vast strides made in medical science and skill in the diagnosis and treatment and prevention of diseases. The Christian Church has gladly accepted the co-operation of the medical profession in proclaiming and preserving the sanctity of human personality and in saving every life that can possibly be saved, and in relieving misery and want. Tremendous advance in modern medical science and the revolution in the whole standard of health and cleanliness have succeeded in lowering death-rates. Moreover, the development in technology and the improvements in transportation and communication have acted as checks on poverty and have prevented the incidence of famine. The result is a lost balance or a great gap between birth- and death-rates. This criticial situation creates great concern and anxiety and calls for concerted and energetic action in lowering the birth-rates.[6]

India's death-rate has been declining since 1921, as a result of the improved medical facilities and the slow and steady extension of it to the rural areas. But the birth-rate remains almost the same. In making their projections Coale and Hoover have assumed that India's high death-rate will be reduced almost one-fifth by 1961, largely as a result of virtual elimination of malaria from the sub-continent.[7] Over half of India's people live in areas where malaria is a common cause of death.[8] As a result of the phenomenal reduction in the ravages of diseases especially malaria, and the consequent decrease in death-rate, India is caught up in a demographic squeeze.

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The uninterrupted accelerated growth of the population since 1921 poses a great problem before independent India. India is chiefly an agrarian country and the people are at the mercy of the quality of the crop. The revenue of the State is entirely dependent upon the nature of the harvest. It has been said that the budget is a "gamble in the rains". The productivity of the land depends upon the vagaries of the monsoons, which govern

the amount of food she can grow each year for the people. Irrigation brings in more land under cultivation, and thereby increases food crops. Over a fifth of the cultivated land is irrigated and from 1951–56, about 15 million acres of land were put under irrigation and about 4 million acres are being added each year. But with a 7 million increase in population the *per capita* arable land available is actually declining slightly.[9] The 1951 Census Report gives most convincing evidence to show that even on the most optimistic estimates of increased production, there will be a marked failing to produce the necessities for living by 1971. A study based on work done by the Office of Population Research, Princeton University, reveals that if India's birth-rate is unchanged in the next 30 years and the Five-Year Plans do all that is expected of them, the standard of living will rise by 14%. The average *per capita* income and the standard of living of an average Indian is distressingly low. At the end of the First Five-Year Plan the *per capita* income increased from Rs. 253 (1951) to Rs. 281.[10] The Princeton University population study again points out that if India can reduce the birth-rate to half what is today, by 1987, the standard of living will be 75% greater than it is now.[11]

The main cause of India's grinding poverty is that India is predominantly an agricultural country, and agriculture is the way of life of 70% of India's population, and that agriculture is overcrowded with workers, and is unproductive, inefficient and primitive. As a result, it is not possible to raise the required food for the growing numbers. In 1901, out of the total population of 235 million people, 146 million were depending upon agriculture. In 1951, 250 million, *i.e.*, an addition of 104 million from the 1901 figure, were depending upon it. This addition is without any substantial increase in cultivated land. There is a tremendous growth in the number of landless labourers also. From 20 million in 1901, the number has gone up to 76 million landless labourers in 1951. India has relatively few industrial opportunities with which to siphon the workers.

The food situation in India has greatly improved since the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan, when India had to import about 5 million tons of food grains a year to achieve even a somewhat lower level of *per capita* supply. In the recent good crop years since 1953, net availability of food grains has been (for the

first time since the war) slightly higher than requirements according to the National Advisory Committee (NAC) standard. The imports of food grains have consequently been reduced to well under 1 million at present, and this small proportion is designed primarily to build up stocks against the contingency of an unfavourable monsoon. The present consumption level is estimated at 17·2 ounces per equivalent adult per day.[12] There is a severe shortage in such protective foods as milk, meat, fish, eggs, fruits and vegetables and fats. In 1949–51 period, the vegetable and fruit supply was estimated to cover about a third of the NAC requirements. It may be presumed that the deficiency is still great in most parts of India, in spite of the efforts of the Extension and Community Development Projects, to grow more vegetables and fruits. The present consumption of milk and milk products per equivalent adult is estimated at a little over 5 ounces a day as against the 10 ounces required under the NAC standards. The present consumption level of sugar (in terms of gur or raw sugar) is estimated at 1·4 ounces per equivalent adult per day, which is a little less than that of 5 years ago, and substantially below the 2 ounce NAC standard. As recently as 1952–53, the daily supply of vegetable oils and ghee per equivalent adult was only ·29 ounces per day compared with ·36 ounces in 1950–51 and 2 ounces by the NAC standard. The potential meat supply from existing stock, including poultry is only 1·25 million tons, and fish production alone could not go far to make up the difference between that and even the present fish-*cum*-meat requirements of 9·3 million tons. The indicated egg requirement estimated at 115 billion is even more academic. Present laying capacity is only a little over 2 billion eggs a year.[13]

The Indian Government, through a long-range agricultural development programme, is aiming to double all farm output within the next twenty years (which implies an average annual growth of about 3·8%) and at the same time accomplish far-reaching changes in the pattern of crops and land utilization.

This is an ambitious goal. Many experts doubt whether it can be achieved. "Major factors now limiting Indian agricultural efficiency are obvious. The badly depleted fertility of the soil and the lack of dependable water-supply in a major part of the total area; the lack of capital evidenced by use of primitive equipment and inability to afford even small outlays promising

a high rate of return; the prevalent illiteracy and ignorance; and the excessively small scale of farm operations, made still more of a handicap by fragmentation of holdings and by the lack of adequate organization for securing supplies, financing and marketing. Under any forseeable population growth trend, it appears likely that any substantial rate of overall economic development would entail demands for agricultural output that could not economically be met in full by increased domestic production. Accordingly some development of a non-agircultural export surplus is likely to be necessary within the next two or three decades."[14]

Many people seem to think that our food problem can be solved by mechanization of agriculture. "Nothing could be further from the truth. Mechanization results in producing a higher yield per man employed, not a higher yield per acre. Mechanization is essential therefore in such countries as the United States where labour is relatively scarce and expensive."[15] In India the great majority of the agriculturists are underemployed for three or four months a year due to the seasonal character of rainfall and the application of even the simplest mechanical methods would make many people unemployed and it would be very difficult for the people to find alternative employment.

The achievements of the Five-Year Plans are encouraging but it has not begun to catch up with the need of the rapidly growing population. The report of Coale and Hoover gives a warning that continued high fertility will lead India to economic suicide. The rapid and alarming growth of numbers overrides the power of the people to support themselves. The above-mentioned report mentions that India has still a period of grace to put her demographic house in order, and this period of grace is no more than a generation. If this short period is not exploited wisely and aggressively, all her achievements through Five-Year Plans will be nullified and the prospects of a good and prosperous life are gloomy. So it is imperative for Indians to reorient the reproductive pattern by bringing down the birth-rate to small families.

Considering the urgency of the gigantic problem, the Government of India has declared Family Planning as the State policy and the Government has spent Rs. 65·00 lakhs in the First Five-Year Plan and Rs. 4·00 crores has been earmarked in the Second Five-Year Plan. The family planning programme is primarily

directed to the building up of an active public opinion in favour of family planning and the promotion of family planning advice and service on the basis of existing knowledge. At the same time demographic as well as medical and biological studies are taken up. During the First Five-Year Plan period, assistance in the shape of subsidies or grants was given to states, local authorities, voluntary organizations and scientific institutions for 115 family planning clinics and for 19 research schemes relating to biological and demographic problems. Under the Second Five-Year Plan it was proposed to open 300 clinics, one for 50,000 population in all big cities and major towns and 2,000 clinics in rural areas. It was also decided to establish a central training and clinical institute and a rural training unit and also a contraceptive testing and evaluation centre. It was decided to give training in family planning to all medical and nursing students the aim being to develop all hospitals and dispensaries as centres disseminating family planning knowledge and to give advice in this matter. A Central Board has been set up to develop family planning programme on systematic lines. The main objectives of the Central Board are: (1) extension of family planning advice and service. (2) establishment and maintenance of a sufficient number of centres for the training of the personnel, (3) development of a broad-based programme of education in family living, which should include within its scope sex education, marriage counselling and child guidance, (4) research into biological and medical aspects of reproduction and population problems, (5) demographic research, including investigations of motivation in regard to family limitations as well as studies of methods of communication, (6) inspection and supervision of the work done by different agencies, governmental and non-governmental to which grants are made by Central Board, (7) evaluation and reporting of progress and (8) establishment of a well-equipped central organization.[16]

So the Government of India is trying to bring about a fall in the birth-rate in order to bring about an adjustment of the whole population to the means of subsistence and amenities of life.

Family Planning—Ends and Means

Before considering the methods of controlling births, let us see what is meant by birth-control. The term "birth-control"

interpreted broadly might seem to embrace any and all measures tending to reduce the birth-rate—by postponement of marriage of women to 30 or 35 years, abstinence from sexual intercourse either by life-long celibacy or by complete abstinence within marriage once the desired number is achieved, abortion, sterilization, limiting intercourse to safe periods (rhythm method), coitus interrupted and the use of chemical and mechanical methods of contraception. The term birth-control has been constantly confused with sterilization, abortion, infanticide, etc. In order to avoid confusion various other terms such as voluntary parenthood, family planning, child spacing, family limitation and planned parenthood have been suggested and used.

Birth-control is not mere birth prevention, but the choice and timing of birth. It recognises child bearing as a personal matter in which personal responsibility may be exercised. Family size is to be determined by choice rather than by chance. Birth-control, which was purely preventive, has now developed a positive side also, which tries to remedy infertility.

The purpose of family planning is two-fold. The first purpose is the adjustment of individual families. The main aim here is based on considerations of health of the child and the mother and the welfare of the family and the better care and upbringing of children keeping in view the economic resources of the family. The question is, given the conditions of their living, how many children the parents, as far as they can judge, can reasonably accept and rear providing them the opportunity of living a full and useful life. Secondly the adjustment of the whole population to their means of subsistence and amenities of life. It means that in the light of the existing resources and circumstances, the number should be limited so as to result in the optimum health of society, nation or even the world.

In considering family planning in the context of Christian marriage it is worthwhile to quote the draft *Prayer Book* 1956, of the Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. It gives three reasons for marriage, the first being "for the increase of mankind according to the will of God and that children might be brought up in the fear and nurture of the Lord and to the Praise of His Holy Name". The question arises: Is it God's will that there should be unlimited and undisciplined "increase of mankind" or that there should be a deliberate acceptance by

parents of their responsibility, as much as it lies with them, to plan the birth of children with a view to their being "brought up in the fear and nurture of the Lord and to the praise of His holy name," that is, in order to bring them up in the proper atmosphere to their fullest human development? Since God has delegated to man in "procreation" a share in the actual creation of new life, so perhaps He also intends us to share something of His responsibility and decision as to how and when new life is to come into being.[17] It implies that sexual impulses must be controlled and canalised and full responsibility must be accepted by those who beget and bear children. So from the Christian point of view, there is reasonable ground to plan and limit the number of children in the light of the health of the mother and children and the economic resources of the family. A child should be begotten when it is actually wanted and when it can be given proper care and the necessary comforts of life. So procreation of children is to be not a haphazard but a consciously thought-out activity. But a deliberate refusal to have a child by considerations of irresponsible personal comforts or of disadvantages that children may involve, is wrong and cannot be justified. The recent Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops says: "The Conference believes that the responsibility for deciding upon the number and frequency of children has been laid by God upon the conscience of parents everywhere; that this planning in such ways as are mutually acceptable to husband and wife in Christian conscience is a right and important factor in Christian family life and should be the result of positive choice before God. Such responsible parenthood, built on obedience to all the duties of marriage, requires a wise stewardship of the resources and ambition of the family as well as a thoughtful consideration of the varying population needs and problems of society and the claims of future generations."

If responsibility for planned parenthood is to be exercised, what are the means to be employed? Means should be such as do not violate the true nature and purpose of sex in marriage and family. There are those who believe that since procreation is the purpose of sexual union between husband and wife, any prevention of conception by artificial device is immoral. The only legitimate means of birth-control according to them is sexual abstinence. But, is it based on a correct understanding of the

purpose of sex? Is sexual intercourse only a device for procreation? Is it not also a means of expressing and realising the spiritual affinity between the married couple? Jesus Christ said (Mat. 19: 5–6), "A man shall leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife and the two shall become one flesh; wherefore they are no more two, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." This idea of absolute merging of the two personalities in the physical expression of love is found too in St. Paul's utterances on marriage (Eph. 5: 25). It emphasizes the fact that sex in the married state has a positive relational value in itself apart from its purpose in "procreation". It is not altogether wrong to think of the birth of children, not so much as the be-all and end-all of marriage, but rather as a happy by-product of it, the "fruit" rather than the "end".[18] Even where conception is not desired, sexual intercourse has a genuine purpose to fulfil in the married state. Therefore complete sexual abstinence is spiritually undesirable in that state. "Self-control in the exercise of the sex instinct is essential, but that is not necessarily the same as complete abstinence from sexual intercourse."[19]

Methods Examined

Without ruling out any method of birth-control *a priori* let us examine the several methods from the point of view, not only of religion and morality, but also of practicability in India. Any national policy of family planning should be both moral and practicable.

Malthus who startled his generation by the spectre of overpopulation and his advocacy of birth-control, if the human species was not to be extinct, however, advocated only moral restraint or continence. Mahatma Gandhi says that there can be no two opinions about the necessity of birth-control. But he, like Malthus, emphasises that the only method handed down from ages past is self-control or *Brahmacharya*.[20] Self-control is the law of man's being. Therefore the sexual act can be performed only when the husband and wife desire for progeny.[21] We have already raised questions regarding the spiritual and moral presuppositions of this approach. Besides, such complete sexual abstinence within the normal married life is not feasible for most married partners. If it is adopted as *the* method of birth-control, it will

create a great many tensions in the family and may even encourage prostitution and immorality.

Life-long celibacy is a vocation to which only very few are called. It has to be ruled out as a method of population control.

We may reduce birth-rate by postponing the marriage of women to 30 or 35 years. In India even now the majority of the people are in the shackles of outworn traditions and customs. The strong prejudice against female education and working women, the traditional conception that a girl as soon as she is mature should aspire to become a mother and find her rightful place near the hearth, the age-old belief in the imperative need of a son for the spiritual salvation of oneself, the still-prevailing system of child marriage—all are hindrances in the way of postponement of the marriage of women. A recent study[22] conducted at Indore City reveal the fact that the ideal age of marriage desired by the three income groups (lower, middle and higher) works on average at 20·5, 22·6 and 23·6 years and for girls at 16·3, 17·3 and 19·1 years in the lower, middle and higher income groups respectively. Those who were against late marriages were 97%, 87·88% and 90·9% respectively in the lower, middle and high income groups. These figures suggest that with the rise in education and income, the desired average age of marriage increases, but a great majority of them are against late marriages. So postponement of marriage of women to the age of 30 or 35 is impracticable in India. Moreover, such late marriages may involve serious biological and psychological difficulties and it may not be conducive to a happy married life.

Abortion which is legalised by the State in Japan is an age-old method. In Japan today abortion is employed on a large scale and there are more abortions in a year than live births. The practice of abortion is illegal in most countries and is rightly condemned by the Christian Church under normal conditions.[23] The Biennial Conference of the Christian Medical Association of India, held at Nagpur on 24th October 1953, recorded their strong disapproval of the use of abortion as a method of controlling the number of children. The justification of abortion is recognised in medical ethics only where it is necessary to save the life of the mother.

Sterilization has been used as a device to check persons of feeble mind and certain dangerous diseases from producing their

own kind. Very recently the Indian Government has resolved to encourage voluntary sterilization as a means of limiting births. Normal healthy persons when they think that they have begotten the desired number of children are encouraged to get sterilized. It is a sure, convenient and permanent method of preventing conception. Sterilization has no ill-effect on health, sexual desire or general physiological well-being of a person. The sterilization of a man (vasectomy) is a simple operation and requires no hospitalization. The Bombay, Madras and Kerala Governments are encouraging sterilization by offering a grant to the person who is voluntarily coming forward for sterilization and also to the Doctor who is performing the operation. Col. B. L. Raina, Director of Family Planning, Health Ministry, Government of India, said that the hospital records in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi and Lucknow showed that the demand for sterilization was increasing and that "the socio-economic factors seem to be asserting themselves". There was a growing tendency for such operation among women between 25 and 34 years. The number of sterilizations in 1956, 1957 and 1958 was 6,815, 11,944 and 11,320 respectively.[24]

Doctors engaged in family planning research and field workers favour sterilization as the most suitable method of planned parenthood in India at present. They favour sterilization for several reasons. First of all the results achieved by foam tablets and other contraceptive methods have not been very encouraging so far. Secondly many village women feel that they cannot use the contraceptives because they live in surroundings under the joint-family system with little or no privacy. Thirdly the field workers think that the psychological aspects of the use of contraceptives by masses create many difficulties hard to overcome soon. An Assistant Director of a population study project, sponsored by an American University, who attended the Sixth International Conference on Planned Parenthood, held at New Delhi in February 1959, pointed out the difficulties of foam tablets. Since the tablets were something new, they were blamed if anything went wrong. For instance if a woman got diarrhœa or any other ailment, the tablet was blamed and the whole village in which she lived became hostile to the field workers. In one region where a certain community worked as sharecropers a woman miscarried. The villagers would not listen to the explanation

given by medical experts, and they boycotted the team of family planning workers. So the trend of thought among the doctors and social workers at the Sixth International Conference of Planned Parenthood, was that much time had been lost in the search for a rhythmic formula, and that contraceptives were giving results inadequate to our needs. In the situation obtaining in India today, in the opinion of many experts, the best method of population control is sterilization.

Sterilization is coming into prominence in the urban and rural areas. In a recent study conducted at Indore, 14% of the sample studied got themselves sterilized, and 64% were ready to get sterilized, if required.[25]

The Christian Church till very recently did not favour sterilization as a method of family planning. Only on serious medical grounds Christian doctors recommended and carried out a sterilization operation on a husband or wife. But under the changing conditions and in the light of the staggering population problem, many Christian doctors have come to the conclusion that sterilization has a very useful place in family planning services. Besides its positive benefits, they feel that it would considerably reduce the number of incomplete abortions, almost certainly criminally induced. The Lambeth Conference of Bishops 1958 agreed that responsible parenthood is a Christian duty. They would not countenance abortion, infanticide or compulsory sterilization in any circumstances. They were not so sure about voluntary sterilization.

Coitus interruption (withdrawal or "being careful") as a method for prevention of conception is almost widely practised and many people favour it because it requires no special appliance or chemicals and so there is nothing "unnatural" in it. But the method has without doubt done an incredible amount of harm, not directly, but through its reactions on the nervous systems of both man and woman.[26] Besides, this method is not reliable as sperms may be present in pre-ejaculatory fluid.

Under the existing conditions birth-control is inevitable and in the Western countries the desired result has been achieved by the widespread use of contraceptives. From the point of morality and religion, all sorts of objections are raised against the use of contraceptives. Some of the religious leaders, chiefly Roman

Catholics oppose it and condemn it as sin and the use of it is not justified under any circumstance. They argue that in the first place the use of contraceptives is unnatural, because in contrast with the unimpeded course of nature it involves an element of human "interference" and regulation. It hinders the course of nature or the normal processes of intercourse and therefore is wilful non-co-operation with the Creator. True, contraception is unnatural. But, most of the means of the good life among civilised mankind are unnatural, for instance, eyeglasses, false teeth, ear-phones, house clothes and thousands of other things. The use of medicine and the consequent prolongation of the longevity of life of man is also unnatural. In fact the progress of civilisation has been from the natural to the artificial, a substitution of man-made for nature's methods.[27] Secondly the opponents come out with the plea that birth-control by contraception is anticipatory murder. It involves the destruction of certain cells ejected from the body, but does not allow life to begin. The answer is that contraceptives involve destruction of sperms, but not of human life, for a new life begins only with conception in the union of sperm and ovum. Moreover in every act of coitus, millions of sperms are wasted, whether or not contraceptive is practised. Thirdly they say that birth-control degrades the marriage relationship. It changes love to lust, enthrones the carnal in place of the spiritual, and makes marriage a mere legalised prostitution. It weakens self-control, loosens passion and leads to bestiality.[28] Moreover, it contains an element of embarrassment, calculation and artificiality, which must rob coition of its natural spontaneity and completeness.[29] In reply, it has been pointed out that for the indulgence of uncontrolled and unrestricted passion, it substitutes a thoughtful regard for the health of the mother and children and the welfare of the whole family and permits that intimate communion of husband and wife so productive of tenderness.[30] Lastly they argue that contraceptives corrupt young boys and girls. The knowledge of contraception removes the fear of the consequences of sexual intercourse and thus encourages pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relations. No doubt, any useful scientific means is bound to carry with it dangers of abuse. But it is no adequate reason to reject science or the techniques of science as immoral.

A great change is noticeable in the attitude of religious authorities. They were all ranged solidly against contraceptives a few

years ago. Today with few exceptions they are taking a positive line. In the history of the world there has never been another such important matter in which within a comparatively short period there has been so complete a right-about-turn on the part of religious authorities. It augurs well for the future.

Family Planning in India

Pandit Nehru, in his inaugural address at the Sixth International Conference on Planned Parenthood, said that he was happy that India was the only government in the world which had given official recognition to family planning although other governments had also indirectly and unofficially encouraged it. He added that family planning had to be taken up alongside of economic and educational advances.

The family planning movement is gathering momentum in India. During the Second Five-Year Plan period, the programme was developed as a four-point research-*cum*-action programme, *viz.*, service through clinics in urban and rural areas (up till now 473 rural and 202 urban clinics have been started), training of personnel to provide the services, sustained education of the people and research. At Bombay, a Family Planning Training and Research Centre and at Ramanagaram (Mysore State) another Training Centre, have been established. Some regional training centres have been formed, *ad hoc* training courses have been held and a touring training team has been conducting short-term courses. The number of persons trained is now over 2000. A contraceptive testing unit at the Indian Cancer Research Centre and a Demographic and Training and Research Centre have also been started at Bombay. A Central Family Planning Board was formed to lay down the policy. A Standing Committee was constituted to scrutinise the proposals in detail. An officer on special duty, now designated as 'Director, Family Planning,' was appointed. At State level Family Planning Boards were formed and Family Planning Officers were appointed.

The Indian Medical Association at its last Annual Conference resolved to give its fullest support to Family Planning. The International Conference, held at New Delhi in 1959, created widespread interest and enthusiasm among the educated classes.

At present the pertinent question before us is not whether we want family planning or not, but what is the most acceptable

method and how best we could disseminate the knowledge of it among the masses especially in the villages of India. Recent studies in various urban and rural centres in India reveal the fact that the people are becoming increasingly family planning conscious, but certain social factors with their deep roots in Indian tradition and culture and the age-old poverty and illiteracy, come in the way of family planning. More than 80% of the people, have neither the means, nor the convenience and the necessary education to use contraceptives effectively. So, research should be undertaken with a view to discover a cheap, reliable and otherwise harmless contraceptive, which is both psychologically acceptable to the villagers and the masses in the cities and capable of easy manipulation by them. Dr. S. N. Sanyat of the Calcutta Bacteriological Institute spoke about the successful experiments conducted on a contraceptive known as *m*-xylohydroquinone over the last ten years. It is in tablet form, costs less than asprin and needs to be administered only twice a month. Something along this line is what will make family planning effective in India. But much education has to be undertaken among the people for they have to take the idea and practice of family planning in earnest.

As Sir Julian Huxley said, India's failure to solve her population problem would spell social and political disaster. The welfare of the family as the basic unit of society also require proper family planning.

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TOWARDS A VALID DOCTRINE OF LAW IN INDIA

By A. John Langdon, *Jalna**

The Need for Examining the Source and Validity of Law in India

The decade since the Second World War has been notable for the emphasis that has been placed on the need for justice in every aspect of life—social, economic, legal and political. An outstanding example of this trend is the Constitution of India and especially its Preamble with its emphatic statements regarding Justice and the Rights of Man.

This emphasis has risen as a corollary to the rapid growth of State power coupled to the rise of the concept of the Welfare State. This is seen not only in the West, but also in some areas undergoing rapid social change, particularly India. Thus as India becomes a Welfare State we are finding that law is beginning to control almost every facet of life. Law therefore is, and will become even more so, a dominant factor in life, and it is therefore of vital concern to stop and ask questions about the nature and validity of law.

The importance of such questions have long been recognized and stressed. Thus we find Justice Holmes arguing in the Harvard Law Review at a time when the power of the State was far less than it is today that theory was the most important part of the dogma of law. Yet because the pressures on the individual and society were not great he could go on in the same article and define law as 'the prophecies of what the courts will do in fact, and nothing more pretentious'. A totally inadequate definition and which has lying behind it the presupposition that legal theory is not obliged to provide any basis for determining the validity or 'justice' or 'injustice' of a law, but only its *legal* validity. Thus law is divorced from moral and religious considerations. This has and has had far-reaching implications.

This doctrine, which has been accepted in varying forms by a large number of legal theorists, and seems to be the working doctrine of a large number of practising lawyers gives rise to a number of questions to which it is essential that answers be given. While recognizing that

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it is important to distinguish law from other modes by which human conduct is controlled, is it, (i) not the true function of Jurisprudence to analyse the total phenomena of law and to submit all starting suppositions to a critical examination? (ii) theoretically possible to define law realistically without taking into consideration its moral and theological aspects? (iii) not the case that the result of divorcing morality and religion from law will give a theory of law which is divorced from reality and therefore cannot show the true source and validity of law?

The Importance of Acknowledging Perspective

The answers given to these questions will, of course, depend to a large extent upon the perspective, or the frame of reference from within which the answers are given. For all inquiry operates from a perspective, and the belief in the objective impartial mind which surveys questions under the aspect of eternity and infinity is disappearing, though it is still present in much legal thinking.

The writer's perspective is a belief in the Triune God, Creator, Judge, and Redeemer, manifest in the three persons of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. That man is a son of God and yet a sinner because of his disobedience to God's commands. Man therefore needs law because of his involvement in sin, and his rebellious rejection of the dependent role for which he was created makes him subject to pride and fear which vitally affects his capacity for co-operative and loving relationships with fellow-men. Thus family and social relations are corrupted as transmitted from generation to generation. All men share this "fallen" condition and therefore law is essential to put limits to human pride and aggression. All human institutions also share this "fallen" condition, and therefore cannot claim an absolute authority.

Law is therefore necessary for *all* men for they all have rebelled against God. Law is not merely prohibitions directed against a small number of evil men.

The Ten Commandments are issued for the guidance of the average man with normal emotions and feelings. "To kill", "to steal", are things we are all capable of doing and we only deceive ourselves if we do not acknowledge this. But law is not only a negative process, it is also a part of God's strategy of judgement and mercy for the redemption of sinful men. Judgement is needed to call the sinner to repentance, and on earth a penalty is imposed as a deterrent so that anarchy and chaos may be avoided. Punishment therefore has a place in the scheme of things for it prepares the individual for the work of God's redemptive love. For God's judgement is linked with mercy, and law calls men to repentance, and then its work is finished for then the

grace of God's forgiving love is the only means whereby man can confront his sin and emerge from this confrontation. This relationship between law and grace is of vital importance in any Christian approach to law, and it has been fully revealed in the Person of Jesus Christ. For law is only fulfilled by the fact that God can live His atoning life in and through the wills of sinful men.

From this perspective therefore law cannot be divorced from morality and religion and remain meaningful. For the whole idea of law is involved with the nature of God and man in the context of the totality of things. But this divorce has been attempted and won wide acceptance, for it was done, in the main, by importing the method of inquiry from the field of natural science into jurisprudence. This 'scientific method' led to jurisprudence, along with other social disciplines, being turned from a normative discipline. Thus those practising jurisprudence during the nineteenth century declared that it was unable to deal with the problem of 'justice' or the 'validity' of law apart from legal validity. Lying behind this declaration of Austin and the School of Analytical Jurisprudence, and as the groundwork of much of the positivistic theory of law, lay the thinking of Thomas Hobbes. His pessimistic view of man led him to postulate the need for the State to have absolute authority and to be the source of law. For according to Hobbes the lawlessness of 'the state of nature' arises from man's unawareness of an order of right. Thus there are no moral principles which precede law; the creation of law and morality are simultaneous. The source of law then is the state which arose from the Social Contract and it must have absolute power in order to preserve order. In this scheme there is no place for 'justice' nor for God's redemptive grace and it was Hobbes who began the breach between Jurisprudence and Theology, which was widened enormously during the nineteenth century when the acceptance of the "scientific" method gave Hobbes' theory a new validity.

Hobbes' doctrines were taken up by Bentham and Austin and at the present day find their most elaborate expression in the work of Hans Kelsen. Kelsen has stated that while we can know something about law if we accept his definition of it, we are unable to achieve any knowledge of "good" or "justice". It follows from such a perspective that questions which are of vital import not only to Christians who are interested in law, but also to societies facing a tremendous increase in State power find little or no place in Kelsen's enquiry. Far from facing them, the most critical problems of law are dismissed as matters of politics and ideology and the jurist gives no help until law is made. Thus Offner's critical estimate of Kelsen's theory, which can be applied in essence to all the positivistic school, is tragically true.

Offner writes as a jurist addressing the legislator: "What laws you should enact we do not know. Concerning that we are not disturbed—it relates to an art foreign to us, to the art of the legislator. Enact what statutes you wish. Only when you shall have enacted some statute will we explain to you, in Latin, what statute you have enacted." Here is clearly explained the great danger of a perspective which is widely accepted.

The Lack of a Christian Law Critique

While Theology was being ousted from Jurisprudence during the nineteenth century, as in so many other fields of enquiry, theologians had little to say regarding the new jurisprudence. One of the main reasons for this seems to be that although Christianity has made in varying forms the assertion that law has a central core which is divine in origin, there is no agreement as to the emphasis to be placed on the various elements which make up this core. This point can be illustrated by the differing emphases placed on sin and human reason in the various Christian traditions. In scholastic Natural Law there is little emphasis placed on man's sin, for natural law is conceived as man's rational participation in the eternal law which is the rational pattern of the divine creation. Natural law principles and precepts are thus referable to man's "original nature"; they make up the pattern which would be present if men lived in accordance with the law of nature. Sin is man's departure from his true nature and is the reason why coercive sanctions are necessary. Whereas in other Christian traditions the emphasis is on the sin of man, and law is conceived as an instrument of God's redemptive activity. In the same way there is no agreement as to the place of human reason. The branch standing in the scholastic tradition teaches that there is a rational ethic arising out of natural law which is completely relevant to legal criticism, while the other tradition associated with the Reformation criticises this point of view on the grounds of the great danger in placing such reliance on reason which is corrupted by sin.

Therefore Christian teaching on law does not speak clearly on a number of vital points, and there is an urgent need for a ground of agreement to be found so that at the minimum we have a generally accepted Christian ethical standard for criticising particular laws, even if it is not possible to arrive at a Christian concept of law carrying general agreement. In what follows I attempt to set out some of the fundamental considerations which must be examined as we try to move forward to an adequate Christian doctrine of law.

"The Pure Science of Law"—a Starting Point

I have indicated that I believe that the school of positivistic jurisprudence is inadequate and in many respects dangerous as a theory

of law. This is not to say that the insights given by the school are not of value and important—they are; but that by divorcing law from morality and religon they present us with a picture of law that has little to do with reality. A fact they often forget despite their 'scientific' claims. Kelsen has seen that this divorce from reality is dangerous and although he is one with Austin in his rejection of religion and morality he has tried to place his system on a basis which has a relation to reality in contrast with that of Austin. Kelsen writes: "Analytical jurisprudence as presented by Austin regards law as a system of rules complete and ready for application without regard to the process of their creation. It is a static theory of law. The pure theory of law recognises that a study of the statics of law must be supplemented by a study of its dynamics, the process of its creation. This necessity exists because the law, unlike any other system of norms, regulates its own creation."

Kelsen based his system on the concept of 'norms'. All laws are norms and a norm is an "impersonal command". All norms are derived from another norm until we arrive at the "basic norm" which is the source of law. This 'basic norm' has much in common with the fiction of the 'social contract', for it is the norm which authorizes the historically first legislator. The function of the first or 'basic norm' is to confer law-creating power upon this first legislator. From this "basic norm" arises the hierarchy of norms which make up law. The "basic norm" which is the source of law for Kelsen is presupposed to be valid "because without this presupposition no human act could be interpreted as a legal, especially as a norm-creating, act." The norms which arise from the "basic norm" get their validity from having been created in the correct way. They are therefore not derived from reason, nature, or God. It is clear then that the crux of Kelsen's system is the way the 'basic norm' is created and here he has been forced to give it a certain natural law validity, for he writes, "The basic norm is not valid because it has been created in a certain way, but its validity is assumed by virtue of its content. It is valid then like a norm of natural law, apart from its merely hypothetical validity. The idea of a pure positive law, like that of natural law, has its limitations."

Kelsen, as we have seen, recognizes that Austin's system of law is merely a blue-print of the logic of law, but he himself has stopped at a half-way house, for if the process of creation must be studied and is scientific, why not that which gives the creation of law its ultimate validity? His admission that the validity of the 'basic norm' is "assumed by virtue of its content....like a norm of natural law," is of great import for it shows that when an attempt is made to base a doctrine of law on reality *some form of natural law doctrine must be*

invoked and this is an acknowledgement that there is a difference between 'is' and 'ought'.

Towards a Christian Doctrine of Law

It is man's ability to reflect upon his responsibility to others as well as himself that makes law possible for he is able to transcend his own desires and thoughts and perceive that there is a difference between 'what is' and 'what ought to be' in his thoughts and conduct and that of others. This awareness of "ought" is the primary datum of law and the essential difference between the natural law doctrines and the positive doctrines of law lie in the conscious acceptance of the validity of 'ought' in the one, and the conscious rejection of it in the other. The rejection of it, we have attempted to show, leads to a rejection of reality and also of critical thought at that point; for it is difficult to conceive of a positive law which does not emerge from a conscious awareness of how men ought to behave, for law would not be possible without the consciousness that there were real alternative ways for men to act. The total rejection of 'ought' therefore is not possible, even in those systems which claim to have achieved it.

This awareness of 'ought' then is the starting point for any realistic jurisprudence, as it is the ground of law, for without it man could not be aware that he or his neighbour was deviating from some mode of conduct, or at a deeper level, the essential structure of being to which law sought to restore him. At this fundamental level then the groundwork of law is one with ethics as both spring from man's moral consciousness, and at this level also the usual distinctions between positive and natural law are irrelevant for it has been argued that a consciousness of 'ought' is present in both.

Here, in parenthesis as it were, I should remark that although law when it emerges from moral consciousness is affected by man's environmental conditions and thus custom has an influence on the way law is made, custom, history and environment, cannot be the fundamental source of law as has been maintained. This is to be found at a much deeper level.

Taking up our pursuit of law again from the moral consciousness of man then we shall treat the essential place of theology in jurisprudence for this pursuit will involve us in explaining how man emerged and continues to exist, and grappling with the ordering agency of reality, which is the ground of man's being—God.

God is the ground of man's being and the ground of law. Its source is His creative and redemptive will and from this acknowledgement emerges certain salient facts about law which can act as standards to judge law, if nothing else. The essentials of valid law must be in

keeping with His Creation. The Living God as the Bible reveals to us is "The God who Acts" and in Genesis we see that the initial act of creation arose out of spontaneous love—so, right at the heart of law is love. Love gave man freedom which he misused to rebel and so judgement and punishment came. Then God acted to ensure order and gave the 'Ten Commandments' in which specific commands were given so that the right relationships would be maintained between God and man, and man and man. Law implies order based on love which uses judgement in order to make conditions possible for love to be present and work its redemptive task. But law was not sufficient and again God acted and in Jesus, grace came to complete the work of law.

The working out of the implications of these statements for a doctrine of law would go far beyond the purpose of this essay, which in the main is to ask questions and to point a way to possible answers. It is hoped that a Christian Study will find it possible to take up some of the points raised. However, in closing I wish briefly to dwell on the implication of saying that the heart of law is love for in the present day I consider this of vital importance.

Love in legal terminology can be taken to mean justice, though I am aware that this can be rightfully disputed, and with Augustine I believe that justice is incomprehensible if it is limited merely to the relations between man and man; for the primary relation is between man and God. When the latter is not recognized what arises is a perversion of 'justice' which is always in danger of being swept away, and that is the position today. For a 'rule of law' which is not based ultimately on God, and therefore on love, lacks true orderliness which can only arise from Him who is the true order of created being, and thus there is no cogent motive or pattern for men to render other men their due. Further without love there is no standard by which men can judge what is the right thing to do in the light of God's will. Therefore unless we can put the concept of 'justice' on a true foundation the present desire for 'justice' will find itself thwarted by the lack of a true motivating power, which will lead to men being unable to resist the encroachments of the State.

Finally as Jesus fulfilled the law and yet judged it, so love is the essence of law and yet judges it, so that Theology will ever submit law to the critical and redemptive force of love.

BOOK REVIEWS

Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, Vol. III. March 1953–August 1957 (Publications Division, Government of India, 1958).

This is the third in the collection of the speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister. The first *Independence and After*, and second *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches* 1949–53 covered previous periods. For any one who wants to know and feel the total nature of the social awakening and the nation-building and the problems involved in it, these volumes are 'a must reading'. If any one person represents the spirit and the aspirations as well as the hopes and frustrations of the Indian people as they endeavour to build a state and a society on new foundations, it is Nehru. These speeches cover a period, when the nation has sought to define its goals of a Democratic Welfare State and a Socialistic Pattern of Society. The discussion of these goals and the methods to achieve them form the major topic of the speeches. The Five-Year Plan and its problems are dealt with as part of this struggle to define the perspective of the nation. It was also a period of State reorganisation on a linguistic basis. It has revealed how superficial is the sense of nationhood in the country and how easily it may be destroyed. And it has also raised the long-range problems of building "emotional integration" of the nation. The question is: What is the cultural basis of the new nationhood and national unity of which the Nation State is the expression? The Bandung Conference of Afro-Asians happened during the period and the relation of India's relation to African-Asian nations on the one hand and the Commonwealth and the power-blocs on the other are discussed by Nehru. Nehru's approach to "Agreement on Tibet" and the principles of *Panchsheel* which for the first time found expression in the Indian-Chinese agreement on Tibet are here set forth; and we can read them now with the commentary of the recent events in Tibet.

Nehru's groping for the spiritual foundations of the new nation and its goals is everywhere evident. He is devoted to secular humanism. But not in any dogmatic sense. And he knows that secular values and humanism cannot endure in the nation without a faith to reinforce them. From this angle, his discussion on *The Crisis of the Spirit* is of significance. He surveys the past: the traditions that went to make India, the degeneration of the spirit and the stagnation, the impact of the Liberal and the Marxian West, and now: "Now this faith in Western thought is itself being shaken and so we have neither the old

nor the new, and we drift not knowing whither we are going. The younger generation has no standards left, nothing to direct their thinking or control their actions". As for the intellectuals who ought to give a lead: "Many of them do not even seem to realise the nature of this problem, others suffer from frustration and a crisis of the spirit, not knowing where to turn". Here is a vacuum to be filled.

Rajaji's Speeches, Vols. I and II. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1958.

To the crisis of the spirit which Nehru speaks about in his writings, C. Rajagopalachari sees the answer in a renascent Hinduism. These are volumes of his speeches, which were delivered by C. Rajagopalachari in the first ten years after Independence, both as the first Governor-General of India and afterwards. One has to wade through lots of speeches of no lasting interest; and C. R. does not have Nehru's depth and breadth of perspective. But there are speeches in this collection which are well worth study by those who would like to understand the present revival of *Vedanta* as an expression of the search of India for spiritual foundations for the new nation. I would specially mention in this connection his Russel Memorial Lecture at the Patna University in May 1953 on *A Religion for Modern Times.* It is a systematic treatment of his main thesis which finds expression in parts all through the book. He affirms his belief that "*Vedanta* as conceived and developed in ancient India is a faith particularly suitable for modern times. Indeed it is my conviction that it is more consistent with the discipline and knowledge that have come to stay in the world through science than most other religious philosophies and beliefs and for that reason it is more suitable for whole-hearted adoption and practice today than ever before". He then goes on to "prove" (1) how *Vedanta* with its understanding of "the universe" as the "result of a gradual unfolding of the creative power inherent in the primordial substance" is able to appreciate the scientific outlook or rather to anticipate it; (2) how *Karma Yoga* the philosophy of work without attachment "supplies the spiritual foundation necessary for the new economy that is everywhere sought to be established in the modern world in place of what has been found completely inadequate, namely, the motive of private profit"; (3) that Hindu philosophy of the many roads to the one Truth has "raised catholicity and tolerance to the level of a positive and cardinal religious duty". And he concludes: "Hindu philosophy has thus potentialities to make the greatest positive contribution to civilization". What is our evaluation of this claim?

The Mahatma and the Ism. By E. M. Sankaran Namboothiripad (People's Publishing House), pp. 130.

Sarvodaya and Communism. By B. T. Ranadive (Communist Party Publication), December 1958, pp. 35.

Here are two books by leaders of the Communist Party of India. E. M. S. is Chief Minister of the Communist Government in the Kerala State of India; he writes on the life and work of Mahatma and evaluates Gandhism as a social philosophy. Ranadive is dealing with the present movement which follows on the inspiration of Gandhi's spiritual and social philosophy, Sarvodaya and its leader Vinoba Bhave; he too attempts at understanding. Both of them write as Communists committed to the interpretation of history as dialectical development through class-struggle. E.M.S. gives a brief story of Gandhi; it is in fact the story of the Indian national movement. E.M.S. writes as one who has been a participant in that struggle, sometimes under Gandhi's inspiration and later against him under other inspiration. The three final chapters are the most important. They deal with Gandhi's disillusionment, the meaning of Gandhism and Gandhism after Gandhi. In the face of the Hndu-Muslim riots and the power-hunger of the Congressites, Gandhiji was far from happy in August 1947. In fact he was in despair. From the Marxian angle E.M.S. comments: "Herein lies the limitation of the greatness of Gandhiji. Circumbscribed as his vision was by the world outlook of the bourgeoisie he was unable to see that neither the deterioration in communal relations nor the degeneration of the Congress on the eve and after the transfer of power was not accidental, but the operation of certain laws of social development". It was Gandhi's repudiation of these "laws of social development", *i.e.*, "the theory of class-struggle", that made him a believer in "the goodness of the individual, even of the landlord and capitalist class"; and because of this belief "he was unable to see that the upper and middle-class politicians who composed the leadership of the Congress were as much likely to quarrel among themselves for personal ends after securing power as they were in making personal sacrifices while fighting power". Evidently according to E.M.S. the politicians of the proletarian class would not quarrel at all—a tall claim indeed after the revelations of the character of politics in Communist Russia! E.M.S. has not realised yet that will-to-power is a law of every man, and every class. Speaking of the meaning of Gandhism, he exposes the "reactionary" character of Gandhi's political creed and policies. But at two points it was progressive: "It was these reactionary views of his that enabled him to form a bridge between the mass of peasantry and the sophisticated representatives and leaders of the modern national-democratic movement". He also notes the fact that Gandhian moral

values not only helped the bourgeoisie to come to power, but also became "a hindrance to the self-interest of the bourgeoisie" after they came to power. How the bourgeois moral values become a hindrance to bourgeois interest, he does not however seek to interpret by his class-struggle theory; perhaps he cannot. Is it not because moral values as well as the moral conscience cannot be understood simply as the "reflection" of class-interest?

Ranadive's pamphlet on Sarvodaya and Vinoba Bhave is a very substantial discussion of basic presuppositions. His evaluation of them has the same spiritual basis as that of E.M.S.'s book on Gandhism. Ranadive rightly attacks the "utopian outlook" of Sarvodaya, as expressed in its idea of attaining to a state-free society in the "present", opposition to power-and-party-politics and belief in achieving economic justice completely through individual regeneration, etc. But Ranadive's pessimism about the present is based on a utopianism of the future with its idea of a State-free "future" society after the classes are eliminated through the exercise of State power of the proletariat. It is the utopianism common to Sarvodaya and Communism that is indicative of the belief in history as self-redemptive. The crucial question is: Has history such a capacity for self-redemption?

M. M. T.

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ERRATA

Dr. C. T. K. Chari has kindly drawn our attention to certain printing errors which have crept into his article on *The View-Point of a Hindu Theist* in the last number of *Religion and Society*, pp. 20–24, Vol. VI, No. 1.

p. 21, line 5 from the bottom of the page—basic differences (*not* basic difference).

p. 23, line 4 from the bottom of the page last word—On (*not* one).

We regret these mistakes.

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